

AN

APPEALE

TO THY
CONSCIENCE:As thou wilt answer it at the great
and dreadfull DayO F
Christ Iesus.

ESAY 50. II.

*Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compasse your selves about with
sparkes: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that you have
kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow.*O X F O R D,
Re-printed by H. HALL. 1644.

AN APPEAL

TO THE
COMMONS

OF THE
PARLIAMENT

OF THE
NINETEENTH
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF
HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE FOURTH

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An Appeal to thy Conscience.

READER,



Whoever thou art, I charge thee before God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at that his appearing, and in his Kingdome, suffer wholesome doctrine, and lay aside the itching eares of these times, that after their own lusts get them an heap of teachers. Censure not before thou hast read it, and be as free from faction, as the Author of this

treatise is from Popery, Socinianisme, Arminianisme or, any by-relation whatsoever, which might draw him into error. Spit out now the venom of envy and sedition, if thou art impoysoned therewith, it may be God may so work by his Holy Spirit in thy heart, that thou mayest acknowledge the truth, & never suck in that venom again, & by repentance mayest come to amendment out of the snare of the Devil, of whom thou art taken prisoner (till then) to doe his will.

But thou, O happy Christian, who knowest these things, and doest them, be assured, all the blessings are thine which God promiseth *Levis. 26. verse the third unto verse the 14.* and take this exhortation from St. Iude, *that thou earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto thee,* & be steadfast, not carried about with every winde of doctrine, as multitudes of corrupt men are in our dayes, who are *raging waves of the Sea, foaming out their owne shame, murmurers, complainers, walking after their owne lusts, having mens persons in admiration because of advantage, mockers, separating, sensuall, having not the spirit,* though they boast of nothing more: Likewise also *these filthy dreamers desile the flesh, despise dominion, and speake evil of dignities,* and by wresting the word of God, do seek to maintaine their rebellion, schismes, factions, and their cursed speakings, daily vented abroad in their pamphlets, to the great dishonour of God, the scandall of His Church, and the infamy of our State.

And since the lawfulness of any action is the surest ground for hope of Gods blessing thereon: which (as the pretence runneth) is **To defend the Protestant Religion, and root out Popery and Idolatry; to obtaine the just liberty of the subject; and to free them from slavery and oppression;** We shall therefore with all sincerity and plainenesse, *not handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending our selves to every mans conscience in the sight of God:* lay no other foundation but what the Scriptures have confirmed, which is,

That subjects may not take up armes against their lawfull Soberaign, because He is wicked and uniuersal; no, though He be an Idolater and Oppressour.

The Reasons are

1 Reas. First, because it were an high presumption and impiety in us to limit that command which God doth not limit. Now our obedience to Superiours is alwayes commanded without limitation: For God doth not command us to obey our Rulers only whilst they are good, but indefinitely, be they good, be they bad, *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves,* Heb. 13.17. *Honour the King,* 1 Pet. 2.17. *Speake not euill of the Ruler of thy people.* Exod. 22.28. Thou must hold thy tongue, much more thy hands. And St. Paul did acknowledge that unawares he had offended against this precept in reviling *Ananias*, though he was a most wicked High-priest. *Acts* 23.2,3,4,5.

2 Reas. Secondly, we may not think euill of the King, therefore much lesse may we take up armes against him, *Eccles.* 10.20. *Curse not the King, no not in thy thoughts.* But who can reueale our thought? Surely God onely, *Psal.* 94.11. *Ier.* 17.10. And rather then a meane shall be wanting, *a bird of the aire shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.*

3 Reas. Thirdly, St. Paul saith, *Recompence to man euill for euill.* Rom. 12.17. If thou mayest to no man, then certainly not to thy King, unto whom thou canst not do a greater euill and indignity, then to take up armes against him.

4 Reas. Fourthly, That which peculiarly belongs unto the Lord, thou oughtest not without his authority to meddle with: But taking up of armes peculiarly belongs unto the Lord, *Deut.* 32.35. where the Lord saith, *Vengeance is Mine,* and of all kind of temporall vengeance taking up of armes, that is, the sword, is the greatest, which made *David* to chooseth the pestilence to fall upon his land rather then the sword. *2 Sam.* 24.13,14.

5 Reas. Fifthly, *Rom.* 13. The Apostle argues the point expressly, *Let every soul (none excluded) be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God (if no power, then the power of a wicked Prince is from God) and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whofoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth*

speth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. Here is a heavy penalty laid, not the confiscation of thy goods, nor the quartering of thy body, but far worse, the everlasting damnation both of soul and body in hell fire for ever.

Observe under what powers *St. Paul* lived, and to whom he commands this subjection, even to those Idolatrous, bloody Emperours, *Cladius* and *Nero*; For from the time that *Julius Caesar* was by the Senate styled *Perpetuall Dictator*; and Emperour, (which was about 43 yeeres before the birth of *Christ* (a) untill *Otho* the III. and Pope *Gregory* the V. did constitute the *Germane Electours*, *Anno. Dom. 1000.* (b) the Highest or Sovereigne power was cleerly in the Emperour alone. *He alone, etiam sine Populi consensu, even Without the consent of the people, had the right and power of making Lawes.* (c) *He had the whole power of the world in his hands.* (d) *He was Lord of the World, Gods Deputy* (e). *He had in him the fulnesse of power* (f). *He was under no man, nor judged of by any* (g). *A man next unto God: greater then All; inferiour onely to the true God* (h). *Before All and over All both gods and men* (i). *Above whom there was none but God onely* (k). *He had no Peer: He was the Highest and Head of All men upon earth* (l). *He had power over All men* (m). What words can more plainly expresse where the Sovereigne Power resided?

Gen. Dierum, l. 6. c. 23. (d) *Act. and Mon. in the Protestation to the Church of England, p. 30. according to John Day his Impression.* (e) *Baldus C. l. 4. tit. 42. de Eunuch. & l. 6. tit. 8. de iure aut. annul.* (f) *Idem l. 4. tit. 52. de com. rerum alienat.* (g) *Hosienf. Sum. l. 1. Rubr. 32. de officio Legati.* (h) *Tertul. ad Scapulam.* (i) *Idem in Apologes.* (k) *Opiatus cont. Parmenian. l. 3.* (l) *Chrysof. ad pop. Antioch. Hom. 2. Agapet. paracent. ad Justin. Imp.* (m) *Ambros. de obitu Theodosii. Greg. Mag. Epist. 91. l. 3.*

a) Buchol. Ind. Chro. pag. 116.
(b) Mar- til. Para- vin. de translat. Imp. c. 11.
Nicol. Cu- sin. de con- cord. Ca- thol. l. 3. cap. 4.
(c) Alex. ab Ale-

Neither is *St. Paul* alone, for *St. Peter* also joynes with him, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man, for the Lords sake, unto the King as Supream, for so is the will of God,* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 15.

Sixthly, *Solomon* counsels every wise man to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. *Eccles. 8. 1, 2.* Here the Covenant made by the people to obey the King is called, *the oath of God.* And who dare sin so far against his owne soule, as to breake this oath of God by disobedience and rebellion? Nor art thou, Reader, free from this Oath of God, who hast taken the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance unto thy King, and hast so solemnly vowed to keep the late Protestation, which includes them both.

But *Solomon* goes further, and tells us, *The King doth whatsoever pleaseth him, where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou?* Now by the common rule, *Quod quaestiones affirma-*

6. Reas.
See Dr. Germins Comment on Eccles.

tiva resaluerentur negativè, the sense is, *That none may say unto the King what dost thou?* None may controll, countermand, or peremptorily gain-say the King; How none? Thou wilt say may not his Iudges? or if not they, may not the Captaines of his Host? or if not they, may not his Princes and Nobles? or if not they, may not the great Councell of 70. Elders? mentioned *Numb. 11.16.* The Scriptures answer, none may, none at all; for *who may say unto the King, what dost thou?* or (as *Iob* asked the question) *is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked? and to Princes To are ungodly?* *Iob 34.18.*

7 Reasf.

Seventhly, God commandeth, *Touch not mine anointed*, *Psal. 105.15*: Therefore thou mayest not smite him, Therefore thou mayest not beare armes against Gods Anointed. But if thou shouldest slay His Anointed, which peradventure thou mayest do, if thou fightest against Him, how hideous a monster shalt thou appeare to be before the Lord in the day of Iudgment?

Thou mayest not smite or curse the father of thy flesh, be he good, be he bad. *Exod. 21.15, 17. Prov. 20.20.* Nor set light by him. *Deut. 27.16.* nor withdraw thy obedience from him, *Mal. 1.6.* Therefore much lesse mayst thou smite or curse Gods Anointed, or set light by Him, or withdraw thy obedience from Him: whom not only the fift Commandment enjoyns thee to honour, *Exod. 20.12.* but even the Heathens will tell thee, that he is more then thy Father, for he is *Pater tui, Pater Patrum, & Pater Patrie*, The Father of thee, the Father of thy Fathers, and the Father of thy Country.

8 Reasf.

Eightly, for subjects to take up armes against their own King, though an Idolater and oppressour, is contrary to the practice of Gods people in all ages, for the Israelites were subject unto *Pharash*, and though he was a Heathen and fore Oppressour, yet they were so far from rebellion, that they would not go out of *Egypt* without his leave. *Exod. 4.23. & 7.16. & 12.31.*

We read that *Solomon* was an Idolater, *1 K. 11.5.* & a great Oppressour, *ch. 12.4.* yet the Israelites patiently submitted unto his yoke & rebelled not. *Abijah* was an abominable Idolater, and an allowor of sodomy, *1 K. 15.3, 12.* yet his subjects rebelled not.

Ahab was an Idolater. *1 King. 16.31.* a slayer of Gods prophets, *chap. 18.4.* and an oppressour, *chap. 21.19.* yet his subjects rebelled not.

Manasseth was a great Idolater, and bloody Oppressour, *2 King. 21.* yet his subjects rebelled not.

Ahasuerus was an Heathen, and by the false accusation of wicked *Haman*, made a Decree to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all Jewes, both young and old, little children, and women in one day: yet the Jewes made use of no other weapons, but what God had allowed, *Mourning, fasting, weep-*

ing and wailing, and would not defend themselves against that most unjust and bloody Decree, till the King had granted them leave at the request of Queen *Esther*, *Esther* 3.13. and *chap.* 4.1,5,16. and *chap.* 8.3,11. Note.

In breife, which of the Prophets did stirre up the people to take up arms against their Sovereign, though they lived under many Idolatrous and cruel Princes? Nay, heare what *St. James* writes, *chap.* 5.10. *Take my Brethren, the Prophets for an ensample of suffering adversity, & of long Patience. Jeremiah*, by the expresse commandement of God charged *Zedekiah* King of *Judah*, and all his people, to be subject unto *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, *chap.* 27.4,8,12. who was a great Oppressour and Idolater. *Dan.* 1.2,3. and 3.1,19.

Christ our Saviour taught us obedience unto the higher powers, by paying tribute unto *Cesar*, and expressing how carefull He was lest He, or any of His Disciples should offend them. *Mat.* 17.25,27. And He commands to render unto *Cesar* the things which are *Caesars*. *chap.* 22.21. And when the officers of the Jewes tooke Him, and bound Him, and led Him away to *Annas* and *Caiphas* (*Iohn* 18. 12,13.) it is testified, That he was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a Lamb dumbe before his shearer, so opened He not his mouth, *Acts* 8.32. And even on the Crosse, that shamefull and cursed death of the crosse, He prays for His persecutors, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe*, *Luke* 23.34.

Behold, behold here thy Saviour, and take not upon thee the name of Christian, if thou wilt not imitate Christ. He was obedient to the laws of the Heathenish Emperours of *Rome*; He commands thy obedience also, He patiently submits himselfe unto the censure of those wicked High-priests, and in the midst of His bitter and unspeakable Tortures on the Crosse, His charity breakes forth in a prayer for His tormentors. Here is no taking up of armes, no doctrine of disobedience unto thy King, no example of rebellion, *God is not the author of confusion, but the Devil*, who was a murderer from the beginning, *1 Cor.* 14.33. *Iohn* 8.44.

The Apostles and Christians were subject and obedient unto the laws and mercilesse cruelties of the Heathenish and bloody Roman Emperors, blessing their persecutors, being patient in tribulation, and alwayes praying for their enemies, as *Iustin Martyr* writes, *Apologia secunda*, and *Ambrose contra Auxentium*, and *Tertullian in Apologico*. Yea, and Christians were obedient unto that profest enemy of Christ and hellish Tyrant *Julian* the Apostate. See *Augustine* upon *Psalm* 124.

Nor was this because the Christians were then few in number, and unable to resist, as some doe wickedly say, to the great diminution both of the glory of God, and praise of his Saints: But *Tertullian* in his *Apologie*

for the Christians, Chap. 37. gives the true reason, *Apud solam Christianorum occidi licet, occidere non licet*: According to the profession of Christians, it is lawfull to suffer death and be slaine, but it is not lawfull to slay. The unlawfulness of resisting was that which restrained them. As for their power and multitude, observe (even in those dayes which were within the space of 200 yeeres after Christs birth) what he said unto the Heathen in the place fore-quoted: *Deesses nobis vis numerorum & copiarum. Vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, Palatium, Senatum, forum. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissimus, etiam impares copii, qui tam libenter trucidamur?* Did we lack number of men, and force of armes? We filled all the places you have, Cities, Islands, Castles, Burroughes, Counsel-houses, the very Campes, Tribes, Guards, the Palace, Senate, Judgment-seat. For what war were we not able, were we not ready; yea, though we had not forces equal to yours, who go to cruell deaths so willingly? And also Cyprian *ad Demetrianum* writes thus: *Nemo nostrum reluctatur, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit numerus.* None of us doe resist, although our number be exceeding great and copious.

A notable proof hereof we have in the reign of *Maximian Caesar*. When this bloody Persecutor would have forced the *Thebean Legion* (consisting of 6666. Christians) to have sacrificed unto Idols, they fled to *Agannum*; and when the Emperour had sent thither to command them to come and sacrifice and they had refused, he then appointed every tenth man to be slain; which was executed *nemine repugnante, not one resisting*. Whereupon *Mauritius* their Captain makes this godly speech unto his Soldiers: *Quam timui, ne quisquam, quod armatis facile est, specie defensionis, beatissimis funeribus manus obviam afferre tentaret? jam mihi ad hujus rei interdictum Christi nostri parabatur exemplum, qui exemptum vaginâ Apostoli gladium propria vocis iussione recondidit: docens majorem armis omnibus Christiana confidentia esse virtutem.* How afraid was I, lest any under the colour of Defence (which is easie to armed men) should have endeavoured to prevent a most blessed death? The example of our Saviour Christ hath ever since directed me to forbid this thing, who by the command of his owne mouth sheathed the Apostles sword, which was drawne forth; Matth. 26. 52. teaching, that the power of Christian confidence is greater then all weapons. *Frisingen. l. 3. c. 45. Grot. de jure bel. l. 1. c. 4. n. 7.*

Note.

And certainly, if thou shalt judge with righteous judgment not making flesh thy arme, thou canst not conclude either from the smallness of their number or the slenderesse of provision for defence, that the children of God in a lawfull and just cause warranted from Gods word, were at any time

unable

able to resist. The Lord will keep the feet of his saints, for by strength shall
 man prevail. 1 Sam. 19. There is no King saved by the multitude of
 host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength: A horse is a vaine
 thing for safety. Psal. 33. 16, 17. The battell is not to the strong. Eccles. 9. 11.

Jonathan encouraging his Armour-bearer with this, That there is no re-
 sistance to the Lord, to save by many or by few, smote a garrison of the Philistines,
 and procured thereby the destruction of the whole army, whose number
 was as the sand which is on the sea shore in multitude. 1 Sam. 13. 5. and chap.
 14. 4, 6, 14, 15. Vnarmed David upon the same ground that the Lord saveth
 with sword and speare, for the battell is the Lords, assured himself that the
 Lord would deliver mighty Goliath into his hands, who had an helmes of
 brass upon his head, and was armed with a coate of mail: and the weights of
 his coate was 5000 shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his
 legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. And the shaft of his spear
 was like a weavers beam, and his speares head weighed 600 shekels of Iron.
 Chap. 17. 3, 6, 7, 47. So Asa crying unto God, and saying, Lord, it is na-
 thing to thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power,
 yet thou threw Zerah and destroyed an host of Ethiopians consisting of a thou-
 sand and three hundred charess. 2 Chron. 14. 9, 11, 13. This carried
 Asa above all difficulties against that bloody, usurping
 Queene Athaliah, 2 Chro. 24. This was the Churches confidence in Davids
 name, God is our refuge and strength, Therefore will not we feare, though the
 earth be removed, and though the mountaines be carried into the midst of the
 sea, The Lord of hosts is with us. Psal. 46. 1, 2, 11. And with whom God is
 (as without doubt he is, was, and ever will be with his church) how can
 he at any time be accounted unable to resist in a just cause?

Doest thou respect multitude, and is the Lord with thee? Elshah or King
 Sazekiah will tel thee that there be more with thee then against thee. 2 King.
 18. 6. and 2 Chron. 32. 7. doest thou regard armies? the Lord breaketh the
 chariot and cutteth the spears in sunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire. Psal.
 109. It is therefore apparent, that if the children of God had had any
 doubt from Gods word by force to resist the wickednesse and cruelties
 of their lawfull Sovereignes, they never wanted ability.

Ninthly, Gods heavy judgments upon those who have taken up armes 9 Reas.
 against their Prince, though an Idolater and oppressour, ought to be a warn-
 ing unto us how we do the like.

Amon was an Idolater, and his servants conspired against him, and slew
 him, but the people of the Land (detesting such horrible treason) slew all
 them that had conspired against him. 2 King. 21. 21, 22, 23, 24.

Nebuchadnezzar was an Idolater, cruell Tyrant, and type of Antichrist,

yeer after that, *Isaiah* had once yielded up his faith and service unto Him (whereby he became his lawfull Sovereign) the Lord was so offended with his rebellion, that he sent not only against him bands of enemies, but also against the land of *Judah* to destroy it; and the Lord gave him into the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who buried him as an *Ass* is buried, drawn and cast forth without the gate of *Jerusalem*, *2 King. 24. 1, 2. Jer. 32. 19. Dan. 1. 2.* Whether was this a sufficient warning; but *Zedekiah* did also rebell, and was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who gave judgment upon him, and they put the sons of *Zedekiah* before his eyes, and put out the eyes of *Zedekiah*, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to *Babylon*.

10 *Reas.* Lastly, To take up arms against thy lawfull Sovereign, though he be an Idolater and oppressor, is contrary to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; as it is delivered in the first Volume of the *Book of Homilies*, *Hom. 1. part 2.* and in the second Volume, *Homily the last*: And also against the doctrine of the Fathers, Martyrs, and all holy men, even from *Christ* himself, untill these last hundred yeers; as you may see it at large proved in the *Book* intituled *The subjects duty*.

But what truth is there so clear, which hath not met with some opposition? Let the servants do what they can, the envious man will find time to sow tares among the wheat, *Math. 13. 25, 28.* Howbeit no point of doctrine hath been longer nor more generally received in *Christ*'s Church then this hath: for no Divine ever doubted thereof, untill the wicked *Is* suits began to flourish, who have turned all Religion into policy, and maintain their conspiracies, treasons, stabbing, poisoning, banishing, deposing, and murdering of Princes, have by corrupting the Word of God, deavoured to prove, That Subjects may and ought to take up arms against, resist and slay their lawfull Sovereign, if he be an heretike and oppressor.

But that which is most to be lamented, is, that many learned men, and other wise well-deserving of the Protestant Church, have through an over-hot and fiery Zeale runne into the same path with the *Is*uites, using the same arguments with them, &c. alike countenancing sedition and rebellion, to the ruine both of Church and State where they prevaile. And from their arguments are by factious spirits, enemies to all peace and government, spread abroad in these unhappy times of publique differences, I shall therefore, Reader, for the full satisfaction of thy Conscience, set them down in order, and according to the Word of God, render unto each a particular answer.

The first Objection.

David took up arms against *Saul*, who cruelly sought his life, &c.

1.2. and chap. 24. 18. Therefore Subjects may lawfully take up armes against their Sovereigne.

The Answer.

To this I answer, That it is falsely alledged that *David* took up armes against *Saul*. For if we read the story of *David*, & *Sam.* we shall alwaies find him flying from one Town to another; never refusing, never fighting, and when the Lord delivered *Saul* into his hand unawares in the Cave, in the Wilderness of *Engedi*, he did not lay hands on, or do the least hurt to *Saul*, nay, he acknowledged he committed an offence of high presumption, and his heart smote him, because he cut of *Sauls* skirt; nor would he suffer his men to rise against *Saul*, but dissuaded them, saying, *The Lord hath said that I should do this thing unto my master the Lords Anointed, to stretch mine hand against him, seeing he is anointed of the Lord*, chap. 24.

Again, when the Lord delivered *Saul* into his hands in the hill of *Hachish*, and *Abishai* would have smote him; *David* forbade, saying, Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless? ch. 26. So that *David*s carriage towards *Saul* is worthy the imitation of all faithful and religious Subjects. Ely we may from the causelesse wrath of the King, but resist and take up armes against Him, we may not, *David* gives us no such example. And it is also observable, that though *Saul* maliciously and unjustly pursued *David*, yet *David* continued in his duty towards *Saul*; alwayes speaking most honourably of him: And in testimony of his loyalty, when *Saul* did but look behind him, *David* stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himselfe; and presently after protesteth, that he never lifted up his hand against him, 1 Sam. 24. 9. 11. whose loyalty unto *Saul* is further proved, 2 Sam. 1. For when the Amalekite brought him word that he had slain *Saul*, he took hold on his clothes and rent them, and mourned, and wept, and fasted much even, with bitter lamentation over *Saul*. And commanded the Amalekite to be slain, and said, How wast thou yet afraid to stretch forth thine hands to destroy the Lords Anointed.

A Doubt.

But you will tell me, that *David* would have defended *Keilah* against *Achish*, had he come down thither to besiege him. 1 Sam. 23. 7, 8.

Answered.

I answer, If we act what *David* entertained onely in his thought, we do not follow *David* but out-run him: yet it doth not appeare in the Text that *David* would have defended *Keilah* without Gods speciall licence; for he first asked the Lords counsell therein; verse 9, 10, 11. and if so he had done it, what had an example of that nature been unto us? Wherefore *David* cannot be made a pattern for disloyalty & rebellion; yet he was anointed.

ed King before Saul knew him: 1 Sam. 16. 13. compared with ver. 26. 18. 19, 21, 22.

The second Objection.

When Saul answered, God do so and more also, for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan: The people said unto Saul, As the Lord liveth, there shall not one haire of his head fall to the ground. So the people rescued Jonathan that he died not: 1 Sam. 14. 44. 45. Therefore Subjects may resist their Sovereigne.

The Answer.

To answer this objection, it is necessary to observe the story as it is set down, 1 Sam. 14. Where Saul charged the people with an oath, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth any food untill evening. And what then followed? Certainly an example of singular obedience in the people, for the Text saith, That though they were pressed with hunger, yet none of the people tasted any food; And further, When the people were come into the wood-pole, the honey dropped, but no man put his hand to his mouth, for the people feared the oath; onely Jonathan unwittingly dips the end of his rod in a honey-comb, and put his hand to his mouth. Presently one of the people told Jonathan of his fathers charge, and in effect that he had broken it. And the Lord himselfe because of this sinne refused to answer Saul when he drew neere to him for counsell, ver. 36. 37, 38. Then Saul called all the chief of the people together, to know by whom this sin was done; and the people, like obedient subjects said (as before in the 36. verse,) Do what seemeth good unto thee. The lot then fell upon Jonathan, Jonathan confesseth, and in confessing excuseth his fault, saying, I did but taste a little honey with the end of my rod, and loe, I must die: Saul answers, thou shalt surely die, Jonathan. Then the people began to meditate, and said unto Saul, shall Jonathan die? As if they should say, shall thy son die? thy son Jonathan whom thou lovest so dearly? ver. 39. shall he die? he, who heard not when thou didst charge the people with the oath? ver. 27. he, who hath wrought this day great salvation in Israel? God forbid. (Let God hinder thee from this deed, God in whose power onely it is, let him forbid thee) as the Lord liveth (that is most certainly, most assuredly, God shall so turne thy heart that) there shall not one haire of his head fall to the ground: for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people (by their mediation and intreaty) rescued, or freed, or redeemed, or delivered Jonathan, that he died not.

Here is nothing but obedience to Sauls commands, nothing but loyalty. And therefore thou abusest the Scriptures to alleadge this place for rebellion and taking up Armes against thy Sovereigne.

The third Objection.

The ten Tribes of Israel rebelled against Rehoboam, and set up a King amongst themselves because he refused to ease them of the heavy yoke which

Liberave-
runt, Hier.
Redeme-
runt, Jun.
& Trem.
Vide Gre-
gor. Mag.
in Reg.
cap. 14.

1 King. 12.

his Father Solomon had laid upon them. And when Rehoboam had raised an army to reduce them unto obedience, the Lord forbade him, saying, *Thou shalt not go up, nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel, returne every one to his house, for this thing is from me.* Where the Lord does approve thereof. Therefore Subjects may lawfully rebell against their Sovereigne, if he be an oppressor.

The Answer.

It is true, the ten Tribes of Israel rebelled, and made *Ieroboam* their King, and tis true the Lord forbade *Rehoboam* to fight against them, saying, *Thou shalt not fight against your brethren, for this thing is from me.* But in what sense?

Thou must consider herein two things; First, the *Action*: Secondly, the *will* in that action. The Action was the making of *Ieroboam* King, and this action was good, and was from the Lord, *1 King. 11. 31.* And in respect of this, *Ieroboam* was their lawfull King. But the evil in that action which was their falling off, and withdrawing their obedience from *Rehoboam*, and rebellion, was from themselves, their proud and corrupt natures; And in respect of this, *Ieroboam* was an usurper; as he confesseth himselfe, *1 King. 12. 27.* *If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Ierusalem, then shall the heart of this people returne again unto their Lord, even to Rehoboam.*

But you will reply, the Scriptures say not that this action onely of making the King was from the Lord, but *this thing*, that is, the whole businesse was from the Lord. And therefore the withdrawing of their obedience and rebellion was also from the Lord.

I answer, 'tis true, their rebellion may also be said to be from the Lord; but how? *Non voluntate Dei efficiente, sed permissive*; not that this was wrought or approved by the Lord, but because this, as all other sins are, was permitted and suffered by the Lord, who gave them up to uncleannes through the lusts of their own flesh, *Rom. 1. 24.* And marke what followed, *They left all the Commandements of the Lord their God, and made them molten images, even two Calves, and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of Heaven, and served Baal. And they caused their sons and their daughters to passe through the fire, and used divination and incantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, so provoke him to anger. Therefore the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; there was none left but the Tribe of Iudah onely. And the Lord rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hands of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight.* The prime cause and reason of all which is here given, *For he rent Israel from the house of David, and they made Ieroboam the son of Nebat King, and Ieroboam drave Israel from following the Lord,*

and made them sin a great sin. For the children of Israel walked in all the sin of Ieroboam which he did, they departed not from them, until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight. So was Israel carried away out of their own Land to Assyria unto this day, 2 King. 17.

See here an example of rebellion, and what a dreadfull and unparalleled judgement followed. They were rent from the people of God, given up to their own corruptions, cast out of Gods sight, delivered into the hands of spoilers; and at length carried into perpetuall captivity. Grant, O Lord, that by thy judgments the inhabitants of the world may learn righteousness, Esay 26.9.

The fourth Objection.

When Ioram King of Israel sent to take away the head of Elisha, as he sat in his house with the Elders, the messenger came to him, he said to the Elders, See ye how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine head? Look when the messenger cometh shut the door, and hold him fast at the door, 2 King. 6.32. Therefore to preserve our life, we may resist the Kings Officers, and by consequence the King.

The Answer.

This conclusion is not rightly inferred. For it is one thing to hold a messenger fast; and another thing to resist, strike, or slay him. The former does delay the execution of the Kings command; the latter is a high contempt of his power. But if we observe the text, Elisha had just cause to command what he did; not so much to preserve his own life, as to perform the will of the King. For as God had revealed unto him the coming of the messenger, and his message: So he likewise revealed unto him, that Ioram was sorry for sending the messenger, and that he himselfe was commanding after with all speed to recall his command. This is implied in the reason which he gives, why they should shut the doore and hold him fast at the doore to wit, so not the sound of his masters feet behind him? As if he should say, hold the messengers while, *Atton enim Rex ipse aderis, mandatum ponens*. For by and by the King himselfe will be here, who at this very time repents him of his message.

Ioseph. Antiqu. Ind. l. 9. c. 2. Theodor. in 4. Reg. Interrogat. 22. Lyræ, to whom (if need were) I could add many moderne interpreters, who all agree in this Exposition.

Wherefore this endeavour of Elisha to hinder the execution of that command, whereof he knew the King repented, and which the king in person did haste to prevent, was no resisting nor disobedience; but his duty and ready consent to the will and command of his Sovereign.

The fifth Objection. *Ishbub* conspired against the said *Ioram*, and killed him, 2 *Kings* 9. 24. 34. and was approved and rewarded by God, chap. 10. 30. Therefore to kill a wicked Prince is lawfull.

The Answer.

This act of *Ishbub* was extraordinary, and by the particular command of God, as appeareth by the words of the young Prophet, when he poured the Oyle on his head, 2 *Kings* 9. 6, 7. Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I have anointed thee King over the people of the Lord, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of *Ahab* thy master. Therefore what *Ishbub* did in obedience unto the speciall revealed will of God, cannot be a pattern for us.

So Peter Martyr, loc. com. class. 4. c. 20. *Vnum tantum Iehu contra Deum armavit Deus: quod ut peculiare fuit, ita non est in exemplum trahendum*: God armed one only *Iehu* against his Lord and master: which because it was peculiar and extraordinary, is not to be drawn into example. And a little after hee hath this observation, *Certe si populo sit fas legno deicere injuste imperantes, nulli Principes, aut Reges usquam tuti erunt; quamvis enim probe ac sancte regant, non tamen populo satisfaciunt*: If it bee lawfull for the people to depose those who governe unjustly, then verily no Princes or Kings shall ever be safe; for though they may rule well and uprightly, yet perhaps they doe not satisfie the people.

The sixth Objection.

They who make the King, may depose the King, and consequently take arms against Him; But the people make the King, as you see in the first of *Sam.* 11. 15. And all the people went to *Gilgal*, and made *Saul* King there. So 2 *Kings* 14. 31. And all the people of *Judah* took *Azariah*, and made him King, for his father *Amaziah*.

The Answer.

To which I answer, That in strict and true understanding, the people do not make the King, but God properly and absolutely makes the King. He is declared by the people, but he is appointed by God: Outward Solemnization or Coronation he hath from the people, but his Power, Right, and Authority he hath from God. And more particularly (as the Scriptures deliver) from the second person in the most sacred Trinity, *Isa.* 9. 6. *Prin.* 3. 17. *Coloss.* 1. 16. *1 Tim.* 6. 15. *Revel.* 17. 14. Who is God over all, himself for ever, *Rom.* 9. 5.

This is evidently set forth in Holy writ, for God sent *Adams* to be a ruler, *Gen.* 1. 26. And God appointed *Joseph* over the congregation of Israel, *Numb.*

27. 16, 18. *The Lord raised up the Judges.* Judg. 2. 16. *The Lord anointed Saul to be Captain over his inheritance.* 1 Sam. 10. 1. And though Saul was afterward chosen by the casting of the lot, yet *The whole disposing thereof was of the Lord,* Prov. 16. 33. 1 Sam. 10. 24. and 14. 41. Afterwards the Lord saith, *I have rejected Saul from reigning over Israel: For I have provided me a King among the sons of Jesse,* 1 Sam. 16. 1. *I gave thee, O Israel, a King in mine anger, and I took him away in my wrath,* Hosk. 13. 11. And 1 King. 13. 2. a Prophet told Jeroboam of Iosiah King of Judah, three hundred and twenty years before his reign. Neither was Gods power of disposing Kingdoms limited only unto Judah and Israel, but it was, is, and ever shall be, extended over the whole world. *He is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: by Him Kings reigne,* Prov. 8. 15. Not this King only, or that King, but Kings, all Kings whatsoever. *Art not thou God in heaven, and rulest not thou over all the Kingdomes of the heathen?* 2 Chro. 20. 6. *Moab, saith God, is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe: over Philistia will I triumph,* Psal. 108. 9. *I have made the earth by my great power, and have given it unto whom it pleased me, and now I have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar my servant: and all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his sons son, untill the very time of his land come: and then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him,* Jer. 27. 5, 6, 7. *Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him, I will goe before thee, I will break in pieces the gates of brasse, and I will give thee the hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel,* Isa. 45. Where God shews, that all Kings are by his particular appointment, in that he called Cyrus by his name above 180. years before his raigene.

And Daniel, Chap. 2. 21. *God changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings and setteth up kings.* And Chap. 4. 29. *The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men: which is confirmed in the same Chap. vers. 28. by a voyce from Heaven.* Daniel told Belshazzar in the very height of his glory, that God had finished his kingdom, and given it to the Medes and Persians, Chap. 5. 26, 28. And his Prophecie from the seventh Chap. to the end of his book, is a relation how God would govern the world, what Empires there should be, what King and Kingdoms even in particular.

Whence it is abundantly proved, that God is the sole disposer and maker of Kings and Kingdoms, and that he gives them according to his good pleasure and will. And therefore the Scriptures call the King *The Lords Anointed, Gods Viceregents,* 2 Chr. 9. 8. *The Minister of God, because he is ordained*

ointed of God, Rom. 13.4. But he is never called the peoples Anointed, or the Minister of the people.

But though God be Almighty, *Gen. 17. 1.* and can do whatsoever he pleaseth without meanes, and therefore can immediatly by himselfe call whomsoever unto the Sovereignty, as he did *Moses, Ex. 3. 10. Deut. 33. 5.* and *Gideon, Jud. 6. 14.* yet it hath pleased him for the most part to make use of second and outward means, whereby he hath given the Sovereignty unto whom he hath ordained it. And those means or wayes as the Scriptures have revealed unto us, were either *Extraordinary* or *Ordinary*.

The *Extraordinary* means or wayes were three: First, by speciall Messengers from God himselfe; And so God gave the Sovereignty to *Ioshua* by *Moses*, Num. 27. 23, 23. And unto *Saul, David*, and *Iehu*, by his Prophets.

Secondly, by lot. And so the Lord chose *Saul* out of all the Tribes of Israel, and that after he was anointed, 1 Sam. 10. 1, 20, 24.

Thirdly, by the Kings last Will and Testament, though he had a Son and Heir apparent. And thus *David* by revelation from God appointed *Solomon* to reign after him, though *Adonijah* was the lawfull Heir unto the Crown, 1 King. 1. 35. & 2. 15. 1 Chr. 29. 1.

The *Ordinary* (and still continued) wayes or meanes were two: First, by the Sword or Conquest. Thus *Abimelech*, by the help of the Schechemites, his mothers kindred, obtained the Sovereignty over Israel. Jud. 9. 1, 6. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* obtained the Kingdome of *Judah*, 2 King. 24. 1. Thus *Cyrus* obtained many Nations, Isa. 45. 1.

Secondly, by birth-right or hereditary succession. Thus *Rehoboam* succeeded *Solomon*, *Abijah* *Rehoboam*, *Asa* *Abijah*, *Iehoshaphat* *Asa*. And it is plain that Birth-right was a very great priviledge, as you may see, Gen. 4. 7. and 25. 5. Exod. 13. 1. and 22. 29.

As touching those extraordinary means, they belong not unto us, unless we remember the Lord in all his wayes, Isa. 64. 5. and to say with *David*, Lord how manifold are thy works? in wisdom hast thou made them all, Psal. 104. 24.

The ordinary means are those which we are to look after. And without doubt, Birth-right is to be prefer'd before Conquests: For the sword is a terrible plague, never laid upon a land but for the sins thereof, *Levis. 26. 33. Jer. 24. 9, 10. & 25. 16, 29.* And the Conquerour is the rod of Gods wrath, *Isa. 10. 5. Lam. 3. 1. A hammer, Jer. 50. 23. The Lords Battel-axe, Chap. 51. 20.* But succession is a blessing both to Prince and people, 2 Sam. 7. 12. 13. 16. 2 King. 10. 30. Psal. 128. 6.

Observable it is, That thorowout the whole Scriptures we read not of any King that was chosen by the voice of the people: Nor of an *Aristocracy*, which is, where the Nobles govern: Nor of a *Democracy*, which is, where the

the people govern : And therefore let them consider how they can answer it at the last day, who shall endeavour to change an hereditary Kingdome into an Elective, or any other government whatsoever.

Now to apply what hath been said unto the objection. I answer, That that power which makes the King, may undoubtedly depose the King, which power is God. As to the Minor, if you affirm that the people do properly and absolutely make the King, it is then false : Neither do the places alleaged prove it. For in the 1 Sam. 11. 15. the peoples making of *Saul* King in *Gilgal*, was nothing else but the peoples further and more general acknowledgement (then they had formerly made at *Mizpeh*) that *Saul* was their lawfull King. And in the verse going before, it is called, *The renewing of the Kingdom.*

To the second proof out of the 2 King. 14. 21. that *the people made Azariah* king. I answer, That the Scriptures intend no more in that place, but that the people Crowned, declared, and received *Azariah* for their lawfull King, which according to the apprehension of common people may be said a making of the King : But if we speak strictly and properly, God made *Azariah* King. He called him, and he onely gave unto him his power, right and authority by hereditary succession, as being Son and Heir apparent unto his Father *Amaziah*, though the declaration and outward celebration thereof was from the people.

The seventh Objection.

If the King break the trust reposed in him by his Subjects, then his Subjects may lawfully take up armes against him : but by Idolatry and oppression, the King breaks the trust reposed in him by his Subjects. Therefore for Idolatry and Oppression his Subjects may lawfully take up Armes against him.

The Answer.

This Objection is raised from a false ground. For the King hath not dominion and power from his Subjects by way of trust, but from God, whose Steward he is, & from whom he hath both his kingdom & power. So that by Idolatry and Oppression the King breaks not the trust reposed in him by his Subjects, but he breaks the trust, charge, and duty required of him by God, and of which one day he shall give an account unto God, Rom. 14. 12. Indeed Subjects may expect from the King performance of his duty in the well governing of his Kingdome according to the Lawes of God, and the particular Lawes of the Country, so far forth as they are not contrary to the Lawes of God ; and they, who are in fit place may exhort him thereunto. But this expectation of the Subjects is no trust, nor if the King faile their expectation, does he break their trust reposed in Him, because the people have

have committed nothing to his charge. For as he hath his kingdom from God, so also from God he hath all power requisite to so high a calling, whereby he obtaineth from his people both fear and love; and without which, he were rather the picture and image of a king, then a king.

And that we might not plead ignorance, the Scriptures have clearly set forth unto us some particulars, wherein his roally power doth consist: as,
By him War is proclaimed, 2 Chr. 13. 4. By him a Peace is concluded, 1 King. 15. 19.

By him the people are assembled: By him the people are dismissed, Iosb. 24. 1, 28. 1 King. 6. 1. 66.

By him a Law is made: By him a Law repealed, 1 Sam. 14. 24, 34. Ezra 1. 1. and Chap. 4. 21.

By him Offenders are pardoned, 2 Sam. 14. 21.

By him all Officers are chosen and established, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, *That is*, whether they belong to Church or State: Or (to use the phrase of holy Writ) *for every matter pertaining to God and affairs of the King*, 1 Chro. 26. 32. See Chapters 23, 24, 25, 27. Gen. 41. 33, 34, 41. Exod. 18. 25, 26. 2 Sam. 23. 23. 1 King. 4. 3 unto verse 20. 2 Chr. 17. 7, 8. and Chap. 19. 5, 8. and Chap. 25. 5. and Chap. 29. 21, 25, 27, 30. and Chap. 31. 2, 5, 9, 11. Nehem. 5. 14, 15. Hest. 3. 1. and Chap. 6. 10. Dan. 2. 48, 49, and Chap. 6. 1, 2.

By him all Armes and Fortifications are disposed and ordered, 2 Sam. 14. 1 King. 9. 15, 17, 18, 19. 2 Chr. 8. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. and chap. 14. 6, 7. & chap. 17. 12, 13, 19. and chap. 26. 9. unto ver. 16. and chap. 27. 3, 4. and chap. 32. 1, 6, 29. Nehe. 7. 1, 2, 3.

In a word, *all honour, power, and justice, are in him, and from him*. Whence it is manifest, the King hath not his Realme nor Power by way of trust from his Subjects; and therefore the Argument is drawne from a false Principle.

The eighth Objection.

The Apostle Rom. 13. 2. doth only forbid the resistance of *the Higher Powers* in the just and lawfull exercise of their authority: so much the Greek word *ἐξουσία* Power doth imply, being derived from *ἐξου* it is lawfull. Therefore Subjects may resist their Sovereigne, if he shall abuse his authority, and become a Tyrant.

The Answer.

Restraint comes too late. The Holy Ghost charging, *every soul be subject unto the higher Powers*, simply, without addition, it passeth out reach to limit in what things we will, and in what things we will not be subject. Indeed the third and fourth verses contain the duty which Magistrates

owe unto the people, but where doth Saint *Paul* release the people from their obedience, if Magistrates performe not their duty? Where doth he say, Let every soul be subject *onely* unto Christian and vertuous Powers?

I grant the word *isēia* is so derived as the objection sets forth, and amongst other significations is translated *Power*: but whether it be used lawfully or unlawfully, it is still *isēia*, *Power*, and therefore *in Oū*, from God. *Thou couldst have no power at all except it were given thee from above*; said our Saviour unto *Pilate*, *Iohn* 19. 11. It is in the originall expressed with two negatives, 'Oū *ēxē isēia idēia*, *Thou couldst not have power*, which was the Greekes manner of speaking, when they would absolutely, clearly, and fully deny a thing, yet no man will say that *Pilate* did use his power lawfully. Even the authority of wicked Kings is of God, which they abuse to tyranny; and they shall give account unto God for abuse of their government. *Willet. Comment. on 1 Sam. c. 8.*

The Antecedent therefore is a bold inconsiderate allegation, founded on a light and aëry crochets of the braine.

The ninth Objection.

In the primitive times, the Christians defended themselves against the cruelty and violence of their misseid Sovereignes, 1. When *Licinius*, Emperour of the East, contrary to Law and his Covenant would persecute them, they defended themselves by armes, and *Constantine* the Great joynd with them. 2. The Christians living under the Persian King, and wronged by him, sought for help from the Roman Emperour *Theodosius*, and were assisted by him, and when the King of *Persia* complained that *Theodosius* should meddle in affaires of his kingdom, *Theodosius* answered, that he did not onely protect them because they were suppliants, but was ready to defend them, and no way to see them suffer for Religion, it being the same with their own. 3. The *Macedonians* obtained of the Emperour *Constantius* foure thousand armed men to help them to drive out the *Novatians* from *Paphlagonia*: the Orthodox assisted the *Novatians* against the unjust violence, and were armed with Sithes, Clubs and Hatchets, and cut off almost all the Souldiers, and many of the *Paphlagonians*. 4. At *Constantinople* the Orthodox defended *Paulus* his election against *Macedonius* and his abettours, though assisted with the Military forces, and the Historian blames them onely for killing the Commander *Hermogenes*. 5. When the Inhabitants of *Armenia* the greater professing the Christian faith, were abused by the *Persians* (among whom they lived) especially for their Religion, they drove out the *Persians* and entred into a League with the *Romans* for their safety.

Therefore if subjects in these dayes by force of armes defend themselves against

against the cruelty and violence of their mis-led Sovereignes, they do that which is warranted by the practice of the Christians in the first and purer times; and so that which is lawfull.

The Answer.

These five, I confesse, are the hackney examples which the Jesuites produce to encourage Rebellion, Resistance, and Murthering of Princes; but how little they make either for them or their Cousen-germans, will upon a particular debate appeare.

As to the first example. The last words cleerly render it impertinent. For, seeing that *Constantine* the Great joyned with the Christians when they defended themselves by armes against bloody *Licinius*; there is no doubt but their defence was just: Because the supream power was not in *Licinius*, but in *Constantine*, who for the valour which *Licinius* shewed in the war against *Maximinus*, gave him his sister in marriage, graced him with the name of Emperour, and committed unto him the dominion of the East, *Niceph. Eccles. Hist. l. 7. c. 44. 45.* So that *Licinius* was no more then *Constantine's* deputy for that part of the Romane Empire, and became a wicked, ungratefull, perjur'd rebell, by making war against his Sovereigne. *Euseb. l. 10. c. 8, 9.*

As to the second example, It is falsely related; For the Christians living under the Persian King sought not for help from the Emperour *Theodosius*: but the Christians, who by reason of cruell persecution, had fled out of Persia their native soyle; into the Roman dominion, besought *Theodosius*, that they might be harboured within his land, and not be yeelded up unto the mercilesse rage of their King, as he by his Embasiadours required. *Theodos. l. 5. c. 39. Socrat. l. 7. c. 18.* Whereupon *Theodosius* out of pittie to the Christians, and as by the law of nature and nations he was bound, returned such answer as is recited in the Objection: And though afterwards upon other just causes, *Theodosius* made war upon the Persian, and in the end caused him to cease his persecution against the Christians, *Niceph. l. 14. c. 21. Socrat. l. 7. c. 18. & 20.* yet I cannot finde (and am confident no man else can finde) that the Christians in Persia did assist *Theodosius* against their Tyranicall heathenish King, as is pretended.

As to the third example. 'Tis true The Macedonians obtained of the Emperour *Constantinus* 4000. armed men to help to drive out the Novatians out of Paphlagonia; and *Nicephorus* saith, that almost all those Souldiers were slaine. *Niceph. l. 9. c. 42.* But he saith not that this was done by the Orthodox assisting the Novatians. It was by a sudden, mad, giddy-headed tumult of the vulgar sort of Paphlagonia. *Populus enim falcibus, & clavis, & securibus, alijsq; armis ut sors ferebat, correptis, cum militari manu pro*

se quisq; congressi sunt. Et praelio utrinq; commisso, multi quidem ex Paphlagonibus, milites autem ferè omnes considerunt: For the people (saith he) having snach't up fishes, and clubs, and hatchets, and other weapons as came first to hand, began with a war-like strength to fight, every man for himself. And the battell being maintained on both sides, many indeed of the Paphlagonians, but almost all the Souldiers were slain. Here is not one word either of the Orthodox or Novatians; and therefore it is a grosse slander and impiety to charge the meek, patient, and harmlesse Christians with this massacre and rebellion.

As to the fourth example: The story runnes thus: *The people of Constantinople would have Paulus to be their Bishop; The Arrians chose Macedonius. Thence arose domestically skirmishes among the Christians in Constantinople, and many were trodden under foot, and crushed to death. Thereupon and some of this sedition came to the eares of the Emperour Constantius who then abode at Antioch; he commanded Hermogenes the Captain to thrust Paulus their Bishop out of the Church. Hermogenes proceeded and laboured together with his Souldiers so set him packing. The multitude being in an uprore, rashly and headily (as it hapneth in such an hurly-burly) fell upon him, fire the house over his head, pull him out by the eares and kill him. And who cannot relate many the like accidents? For even amongst us the Kings Officers comming to part a fray or appease a tumult, have been knockt on the head for their labours: but what rationall man will thence conclude, that Christian subjects may therefore lawfully rise up, bid battell, kill and slay, their Prince or his Officers? Are not tumults unlawful? And doth not the King severely punish for the contempt, much more for the murdering of his Officers? Nor did the people of Constantinople scape, For the Emperour hearing thereof, posted thither, thrust Paulus out, merced the City, and took from them his fathers large donation of Corns, daily given unto them. Yet he deferred to nominate Macedonius, being wonderfully incensed, not only against him in that he was chosen without his advice and counsell: but also in that through the stir and tumult, not onely Hermogenes his Captaine, but also many others besides were slain. Socrat. l. 2. c. 12. & 13. Observe, how faithfully the Objectour delivers the matter, in saying, *The Historian blames them only for killing the Commander Hermogenes.**

As to the fift and last example. The King of Persia was not their lawfull King, but an usurper and invader of their Country; and therefore the Armenians might lawfully drive out the Persians, and enter into a league with the Romans. *Enagrim schol. l. 5. c. 7. Naceph. l. 17. c. 37. As did the Jewes, when they drove out that vile person, Antiochus Epiphanes. Dan. 11. 21. 1 Maccab. 8. 30.*

We see then, how ever these examples at the first glance may seeme to containe something materiall; yet upon a strict and diligent view they are found empty and impertinent: not one of them shewing, that the Christians in the Primitive times either did or would by force of armes defend themselves against their lawfull and undoubted Sovereigne.

The tenth Objection.

If Subjects may never resist their Sovereigne, then they must obey him in his unlawfull commands, but this is contrary to Gods Word, *Prov. 4. 16, 27. Amos 5. 14. Rom. 13. 9. We ought rather to obey God then men, Act. 5. 29.* Therefore in unlawfull commands Subjects may resist.

The Answer.

To answer this Objection, we must remember that there is a twofold obedience, *Active* and *Passive*.

The Active obedience is to do what we are required: which obedience we ought to yeeld to our Sovereigne when he commands that which is lawfull.

The Passive obedience, is with meeknesse and constancy to beare the afflictions whereunto God hath appointed us, *1 Thes. 3. 3.* Which obedience we ought to yeeld unto our Sovereigne when he commands that which is unlawfull. Thus *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego* willingly submitted themselves unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, to be cast into the fiery Furnace, rather then to worship the golden Image, *Dan. 3. 17, 18.* And *Daniel* willingly submitted himselfe unto *Darius*, to be cast into the Den of Lions, rather then to observe his idolatrous decree, *Dan. 6. 7, 10.*

Of this obedience is that which our Saviour preached unto his Disciples in the Mount, *Math. 5. 10, 11, 12. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousnesse sake; for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoyce and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in Heaven: for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you.*

And Saint Peter exhorteth us unto the same, *1 Pet. 4. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.* Beloved, thinke it not strange concerning the fiery triall, which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you, but rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings. If ye be reproached for the Name of Christ suffer as ye. But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thiefe, or as an evill doer, or as a busy body in other mens matters. Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.

God therefore doth alwayes require thy obedience unto thy Prince: If his commands be unlawfull, then thou must obey him *actively*, by executing

ting his will; if unlawfull then thou must obey him *passively*, by submitting thy selfe unto his punishment. So that there can be no cause or colour for thy disobedience, no ground for thy resistance, unless thou wilt obey neither God nor man.

The Objections being fully answered, this truth delivered in Gods Word remains firme and unshaken, That Subjects may not take up Armes against their lawfull Soberaigne, because he is wicked and unjust; no though he be an Idolater and Oppressour.

But tell me, *Reader*, if thou canst, where the Scriptures allow thee to take up Armes against thy lawfull Soberaigne, who is a meeke and patient *Moses*, a tender hearted *David*; no Idolater, but a strict and carefull maintainer of Gods true Religion, and such a one, whom his very adversaries acknowledge to be, *The Defender of the true, ancient, Catholike and Apostolicall faith*. In whom Gods graces are so eminent, that though hellish spirits have and doe daily foame out their malice against him, yet there is not one who hath or can taxe him with unchastity, malice, pride, cruelty, prophanenesse, negligence of Gods service, or any other notorious vice; except his deniall of giving away his birthright be a breach of his Royall duty, as the authour of the *Soveraigne Antidote* would faine perswade us to believe, without prooffe.

So; canst thou justly say, he is an Oppressour, for he hath not only taken away all Monopolies, Shipmoney, and all other grievances from the people, but he hath by publique Act damned them for ever. And further to shew his justice and Princely clemency, he hath in this Parliament passed many excellent and profitable Acts unto his people; which, if we knew when to be satisfied, would yeeld in few yeeres more then an hundred fold recompence for all our damages.

But what Religion art thou of, who carriest the Kings faults so long in thy mind, with a desire of revenge? Dost thou say in the Lords Prayer, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, and yet bearest thou a grudge towards thy Prince? Christ our Saviour tells us *Matth. 6. 15. If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses*. And Saint Paul commands, *Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christs sake hath forgiven you, Eph. 4. 31, 32.* and yet wilt thou never cease thy wrath and evil speaking against thy King? wilt thou never forgive him? Thou owest unto God more then ten thousand Talents, *Matth. 18. 24.* And be assured, (for Christ hath said it) God will not forgive thee that great sum, if thou dost not first

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thy heart forgive thy brother, especially thy King, that petty debt which he oweth, and those small trespasses which he hath done unto thee.

Oh consider I weigh the cause seriously, enter into thine own heart. Against whom dost thou rise up? Whom dost thou oppose? Is it not the Lord Anointed? is he not thy Father, thy Master, thy Head, thy Lord, and Sovereign? Hast thou forgotten how for Rebellion Korah and his company, and all that appertained to them went down alive into the pit, and the Earth closed upon them? Numb. 16.32,33. Was not traiterous Absolon hanged in an Oak, thrust through the heart with three Darts, while he was alive, and afterwards cast into a pit? 2 Sam. 18.9,14,17. And shalt thou glory in thy rebellion against thy lawfull, thy peaceable, thy religious Prince, and yet thinke to escape the judgments of God?

The Scriptures go yet higher, and tell thee, that to oppose thy Sovereign, is to oppose the Lord himselfe. Korah rebelling against Moses, is said to rebel against the Lord, Num. 27.3. And the people in rejecting Samuel, rejected the Lord that He should not reign over them. 1 Sam. 8.7.

And not onely opposing or resisting, is against the Lord, but also not to help thy Sovereign, is not to help the Lord. The inhabitants of Meros are not helping Deborah their Sovereign, Iudg. 4.4. against Iabin King of Canaan, are said not to help the Lord, and are therefore by the Lord accursed, chap. 5.23. *Curse ye Meros, (said the Angel of the Lord.) Curse ye utterly the Inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.* If God hath laid such a heavy, such a fearefull curse upon those who do not assist their Sovereign; O! what hideous and dreadfull vengeance doth attend them who oppose and take up Armes against their Sovereign? Consider this ye that forget God, lest he smite you in pieces and there be none to deliver you, Psal. 50.22.

Note.

An Evasion.

But thou wilt answer, That thou doest not take up Armes against the King, but against His evil Counsellors.

The Reply.

To which I reply, that this distinction of taking up Armes against evil Counsellors and not against the King, is not to be admitted.

First, because it is a late new invented distinction, coyned on purpose to shadow over the ugly face of rebellion; having no colour or ground either in the Scriptures or Fathers. Whereas truth is ancient, and the lip of truth shall be established for ever, Prov. 12.19.

Secondly, because it is a vaine distinction. For to oppose and resist the Kings officers, especially his Counsellors, who are his chiefest and highest Officers, is to oppose and resist the King himselfe, because the

power which they have is not from themselves but from the King, who imparts it unto them. And therefore *David* esteemed *Nabals* churlishnesse unto his servants and messengers as done unto himself, and had destroyed *Nabal* and his family, had not *Abigail*, *Nabals* wife, pacified him, 1 Sam. 25. 10, 14, 22, 23. So *David* accounted that which *Joab* did unto *Abner* and *Amasa*, whom he slew, as done unto him: and commanded *Salomon* to slay *Joab*, 1 King. 2. 5, 6, 31. So *Vashti* refusing to come by the Chamberlaines, who were by King *Ahasuerus* commanded to bring her, is said, not to have performed the Commandement of the King, and to have done wrong unto the King: for which offence she was put away, *Ester* 1. 11, 15, 16, 19. Hence it is that our Saviour saith unto his Disciples, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*, Luke 10. 16.

Thirdly, because it is contrary to Gods Word, 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15. Submit your selves unto every Ordinance of man, for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him: to wit, the King; as *Beza*, *Wirth*, *Locrinus*, the vulgar comment and others expound the place. For so is the Will of God that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. Now who are nearer the King then his Counsellors? and who can more properly be called Governours then they, who sit at the sterne, guiding the Common-wealth?

But lest thou shouldst thinke that S. Peter enjoyneth thy obedience onely unto good Governours, such as doe right, and execute justice, he setteth down in the 19, 20, 21. verses, *This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure griefe, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps.* Whereby it is plaine that S. Peter intended our submission even unto evill Magistrates, evill Governours, and consequently to evil Counsellors.

And it is observable, that S. Paul Rom. 13. 1. commandeth every soul to be subject to the higher powers, in the plurall number; to teach us, that we must be obedient, not only to the highest power, but to all powers which are above us: But when he speaks of resisting, he speaks in the singular number, *Whoever resisteth the power*, to teach us, that we may not resist any one power, though it be in a member or inferiour Magistrate, because it is derived from the King, who is the head of all power, and is ordained of God; and therefore he that resisteth the power (though it be subordinate) resisteth the Ordinance of God.

Here you will say, that what *S. Paul* calleth the Ordinance of God, *S. Peter* A doubtr.
in the place afore-cited calleth the Ordinance of man, therefore the Ap-
ostles seem not to agree.

This is easily resolved; For *S. Paul* speaketh of the *efficient cause*, and
that is God, who onely maketh the King, and ordaineth all powers, and so
every power is the Ordinance of God. But *S. Peter* speaketh of the *small*
cause, and that is man, for whose good, peace, and welfare, all power is or-
dained, and so every power is the Ordinance of man, because it is by God
vouchsafed for the profit of man, *Bucan. Loc. com. 46. sect. 16.*

And since there is no cause so bad but something is or may be said in ex-
cuse thereof, I shall therefore Reader, for the satisfaction of thy conscience
(being desirous to remove the least scruple) set down by way of objection
three places of the Scriptures, which are alleadged for the taking up of
Armes against evil Counsellors, and render unto each a respective answer,
though in truth the premisses and conclusion be at defiance.

The first Objection.

It is expressly commanded, *Prov. 25. 5. Take away the wicked from be-
fore the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness*; therefore
Subjects may take up Armes to remove evil Counsellors from the King.

The Answer.

To which I answer, That the command there given is not to the people,
nor to the Elders, nor to any Councell or Assembly, but to the King him-
self, whose duty it is to *take away the wicked from before him*. And this is
cleared:

First, by comparing this place (as *Iunius* and *Tremellius* do) with *Prov.*
10. 8. where it is plainly said, *A King that sitteth in the Throne of judge-
ment scattereth away all evil with his eyes.*

Secondly, by *Dauids* profession and practice, *Psal. 101. 3, 6, 8. I will set no
wicked thing before mine eyes. Mine eyes shall be upon the faithfull of the
land, that they may dwell with me. I will early destroy all the wicked of the land.*

Thirdly, by the joynt consent of all Translators of the Bible, who give
this exposition of the words, *that it is not enough that the King be pure
himself, but that he put away others that be corrupted.* Therefore the person
to whom *Salomon* speaketh in the text alleadged, is the King.

The second Objection.

Phineas his zeale in slaying *Zimri* and *Cozbi* was counted unto him for
righteousnesse, *Psal. 106. 30, 31.* and was rewarded by God with an ever-
lasting Priesthood, *Num. 25. 8, 13.* Therefore to take up Armes against, nay
to slay evil Counsellors is lawfull.

Here is a conclusion drawn from premisses which are nothing at all pertinent thereunto. For *Zimri* and *Cozbi* were no Counsellors unto *Moses*, who was then Sovereigne; *Zimri* being the son of *Salu*, a Prince among the *Simconites*, and *Cozbi* the daughter of *Zur*, of a chiefe house in *Midian*, Num. 25. 14, 15. Neither can this act of *Phinehas* be made a pattern to all posterity. For then it would follow, that a Priest or Minister of Gods word finding a man and woman, yea a Prince and Princeesse, in the act of whoredome, may lawfully kill them. But this is most repugnant to the Scriptures, because no Divine may execute the materiall sword. Wherefore this act of *Phinehas* was by the speciall instigation of Gods Spirit, and not for our imitation.

The third Objection.

Elias commanded fire from heaven, and burnt up the two Captains with their fifties, whom King *Ahaziah* sent to apprehend him, 2 King. 1. 10, 12, 14. Therefore to preserve our lives and liberties, we may resist, kill, and destroy the Kings evill Officers, and consequently his evill Counsellours.

The Answer.

Our blessed Saviour himselfe hath precisely forbidden the Apostles, and in them all Christians, to imitate this Prophet. For when *Iames* and *Iohn* said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come downe from heaven, and consume them, even as *Elias* did? He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.

Thus, Reader, thou seest the weaknesse of the objections, and therefore canst not but conclude that this distinction of taking up Armes against evill Counsellours, and not against the King, is a new, frivolous, groundlesse distinction, contrary to the Scriptures, and a meere Cloake to hide the horrid and fatefull sin of rebellion from the eyes of the weaker Christians. Take heed then lest thou be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. Heb. 3. 13. Looke to thy end, and remember that in the place where the tree falleth, there shall it be, Eccles. 11. 3. Die for the Lord when God calleth thee unto it for his glory; but be assured thou diest neither for, nor in the Lord (without Gods extraordinary mercy) if thou cast away thy life in a cause which Gods word will not warrant.

By me (saith Christ the power and wisdom of God, 1 Cor. 1. 24.) Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Iudges of the earth, Prov. 8. 16. If all Nobles and Iudges, then certainly all Counsellors; though some may be evill. And therefore to use the words of *Gamaliel*, Acts 5. 38, 39. Refrain from those men and let them alone, for if their counsell or their worke be of men it

will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest happily ye be found even to fight against God.

The second Evasion.

But thou wilt tell me, that thou takest up Armes in obedience to publique command and authority; and therefore doest nothing but what is warrantable and lawfull.

The Answer.

'Tis true, thy obedience to publique authority is lawfull and necessary; for God doth require it, *Tir.* 3. 1. yet before thou yeeld thy active obedience thereunto, be sure that both the command and authority to which thou yeeldeest, and also the thing commanded and authorized, be agreeable to the Lawes of God, and warrantable by the Lawes of the Land; wherein thou livest. For if the publique command be unlawfull; then is thy obedience thereunto also unlawfull; as, the obedience of the men of Israel in going to their tents, and forsaking of *David* their King at the command of traiterous *Sheba*, was plaine rebellion. *2 Sam.* 20. 1, 2. Or, if the thing commanded be unlawfull, then is thy obedience also unlawfull; as, those men sinned in casting the three Children into the fiery furnace, at the commandment of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and for their wickednesse were slaine by the flame of the fire, *Dan.* 3. 20, 21.

And indeed, when the act is unlawfull, the publique command and authority is so far from diminishing or lessening the offence, that it doeth exceedingly aggravate and increase it. *Ephraim is oppressed* (saith *Hosea* 5. 11.) *and broken in judgement; because he willingly walked after the Commandment*; to wit, of *Ieroboam*. *Micah* speaketh of Statutes of *Omri*, *cap.* 6. 16. take heed how thou keepest them. And there is a throne of iniquity, which frameth mischief by a Law, *Psal.* 94. 20.

Wherefore adventure not thy talent, thy life, and therewithall thy salvation upon any authority or Ordinance of man, without a due and full examination thereof between God and thy conscience, applying all to the onely sure rule and touchstone of truth, *The Word of God*. Nor oughtest thou to feare the danger of bringing the authority or commands of men unto this triall, for thou hast a warrant from *St. Paul* so to do, *1 Thes.* 5. 21. *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* And *1 Cor.* 10. 15. he referreth himself to the Corinthians, *Judge ye what I say.* And *Acts* 17. 10, 11. The Bereans are accounted more Noble then those in *Thessalonica*, in that they received the Word with all readinesse of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so; as *Paul* preached.

If then the doctrine and commands of the Apostles, (who were filled with the Holy Ghost, *Acts.* 3. 4.) were subject unto this examination, how

can the Lawes and commands of men now adaves be above it, or in any wise freed from it? So long as men are capable of error, so long are they subject unto examination. And what man, what Councell may not erre? *That Royall Statute and firm Decree, though consulted of, and presented to Darin by all the Presidents of the Kingdom, the Governours, and the Princes, the Counsellors and the Captains, was but a faction and conspiracy to take away the life of Daniel, Dan. 6. 4, 5, 6, 7.*

Did not the Apostles erre for a while in not beleieving the resurrection of Christ? *Luke 24. 11.* Did not Peter erre in withdrawing himself from the Gentiles through feare, and joyning with the Jewes? *Galat. 2. 11, 12.* whole counsels, as well generall, as Provinciaall, though consisting of none but learned Divines, have been carried by a faction and erred in the very fundamentals of Divinity. And why may not a Synod in these dayes, whereof some onely are pious, learned, and Orthodox, erre in like manner? Or an Assembly sprinkled with Lawyers, erre in a point of Law?

Here *Tertullian, Apologet. adversus Gentes. c. 4. Si Lex tua erravit, puta, ab homine concepta est: neque enim de calo ruit. Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda? Nonne & ipsum Lycurgus leges a Lacedemoniis emendatas? If thy Law hath erred, I suppose it was framed by man: for it did not come down from Heaven. Do you wonder that man could erre in making a Law, or repent for rejecting a Law? Were not the laws of Lycurgus himself corrected by the Lacedemonians?*

Let us therefore search and try our wayes, *Lam. 3. 40.* Let us not pin our faith, our life, and salvation unto another mans elbow. Gods word declares unto us manifestly, that it is not lawfull for us to take up Armes against our Sovereigne; and it will not availle us at the last day to say, We did it by authority of man. Every one shall beare his own burthen: the Seducer shall not excuse him who is seduced. *If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit, Matth. 15. 14. The sount that sinneth, it shall die, Ezek. 18. 4.* And remember S. Pauls curse, *Gal. 1. 8. Though we (saith he) or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you then that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*

The third Evasion. But the third Evasion, as Burthou wilt say, If Subjects may never resist, then may the Prince governe according to his own will and pleasure, and so may bring his Subjects into bondage, slavery, and all evils and inconveniences whatsoever: which is contrary to nature and reason to admit.

The Answer. If we may deny or reject a truth delivered in Gods Word, because of evils and inconveniences which might thereby happen unto us, then the whole

whole frame of Divinity will be soon overturned. We know, That the doctrine of Gods eternall, free, and unchangeable decree of reprobation, has brought many into the sin of despair: The doctrine that *true repentance is never too late*, has led many into the sin of presumption: The doctrine of assurance of salvation, has bred in some a proud self-conceitednesse and contempt of their brethren. The doctrine of justification by faith onely, and not by works, has drawne many into a neglect of Almsh-giving. And *what hath been, may be*, yet we neither doe nor must reject the foresaid doctrines, though indeed if we respect the evils and inconveniences, they ought so much the rather to be rejected, by how much the greater and more dangerous are the evils; for these evils are spirituall, and tend to the destruction both of soule and body for ever; whereas the doctrine of not resisting the King can onely expose us (if we offend God) to evils temporall and momentany.

But O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? Rom. 9. 20. Has not God power over thine eternall estate to dispose thereof according to his will, and dost thou grudge him to dispose of thy temporal estate, thy goods, thy lands, thy life, or what is most deare? Wilt thou reject the Word of God because it seems inconvenient to thee? darest thou say, *the way of the Lord is not equal?* Ezek. 18. 25. God commands thy obedience unto thy Sovereigne, though he be wicked and unjust, and wilt thou plead dangers, evils, and inconveniences against Gods Command? *Oh! let not arrogancy come out of thy mouth, for the Lord is a God of knowledge, and by Him actions are weighed,* 1 Sam. 2. 3.

Cease from thine owne wisdom, Prov. 23. 4. Advise not with nature. For the naturall man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of GOD, for they are foolishnesse unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned, 1 Cor. 2. 14. Thou must deny thy selfe, and take up thy crosse, if thou wilt follow Christ, Matth. 16. 24. And if thy reason cannot perswade thee, yet let the reward invite thee, For every one that hath forsaken houses, brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my Names sake (saith our Saviour) shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inheris everlasting life, Mat. 19. 29.

Neverthelesse the King is not left at liberty to do what he pleaseth, and to make his will the rule of his actions. No, he is the Lords Shepheard, and 1 Sa. 44. 18. the Lord hath appointed unto him his charge and duty. When God set Iosue over the Congregation, Moses gave him a charge in their fight, Num. 17. 16, 19. And of David it is said, Psal. 78. 70, 71, 72. He chose David his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds, from following the Ewes great with

with young. He brought him to ~~see~~ ^{feed} Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance: So he fed them (therefore the King ought to provide for, and cherish his people) according to the integrity of his heart, (therefore the King ought to be faithfull to his people) and guided them (therefore the King ought to be careful and vigilant over his people) by the skilfulnesse (therefore the King ought to counsel his people) of his hand (therefore the King ought to defend his people.) And when the Prophet *Abijah* told *Ierobeam* that God would give ten tribes of Israel unto him, he withall tells him his duty, and the conditions upon which God gave them; *If thou wilt hearken unto all that I the Lord command thee, and wilt walk in my waies, and doe that is right in my sight, to keep my Statutes and my Commandements, as David my servant did, then will I be with thee and build thee a sure house,* 1 King. 11. 30, 31, 38. And at that time when the Lord chose *Saul* to be King, *Samuel* told the people the manner of the Kingdome, and wrote it in a booke, 1 Sam. 10. 25. whereby it is evident that *Saul* might not rule as he listed, for that God had prescribed the form or manner of the government or Kingdome. And what that is you may read in *Deut. 17. It shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a copie of this Law, (that is, the Deuteronomy) in a booke, out of that which is the Priests and Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the daies of his life, that he may learn to feare the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes, to doe them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, (therefore the King ought not to insult and tyrannize over his people) and that he turne not aside from the Commandement, to the right hand or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his daies in his Kingdom, he and his children in the midst of Israel.*

It then the King shall desire the preservation of himselfe, and the continuance of his Kingdome unto his posterity, hee must carefully observe the Commandement of the Lord, and the execution of Justice. He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the feare of God, 2 Sam. 23. 3. It is an abomination to Kings to commit wickednesse; for the throne is established by righteousness, Prov. 16. 12. The King by judgement establisheth the land, Prov. 29. 4.

Tis true, the King is Gods Vice-gerent, and therefore accountable to God onely for his actions; Which *David* implied in confessing those his crying sins of murther and adultery to be onely against God: *Against thee, thee onely have I sinned,* Psal. 51. 4. And even reason requireth that the members should not judge the head, because they are under the head: nor can they take away the head, because thereby they cease to be members: yet if Princes do seriously take it into consideration, they shall finde little

encouragement from hence to give way to their own lusts: For besides the eternall vengeance of God, which, without repentance, they shall most certainly feel after this life, having by their wickednesse made themselves uncapable to inherit the kingdom of God, 1 Cor. 6. 9. so they do usually pluck down upon themselves or their posterity, or both, temporall judgements: yea, and those the more heavy and terrible, because by the neglect of their charge and duty, they become more unthankfull then others, and more injurious unto so free, so gracious, so bountifull a Lord and Master: *For unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required,* Luke 12. 48.

Of Gods judgements upon wicked and unjust Kings, The Scriptures afford many examples. Oppressing *Pharaoh*, with all his mighty host, was drowned in the Red-sea, *Exod.* 14. 27, 28. Cruell *Adoni-bezek* was caught, and had his thumbs and his great toes cut off, in like manner as he had done before unto threescore and ten Kings, *Judges* 1. 6, 7. The fat Tyrant *Eglon* had a dagger thrust into his belly, and the hilt also went in over the blade, and the fat closed upon the blade, so that he could not draw the dagger out of his belly, and the dirt came out, *Jud.* 3. 21, 22. Did not a woman cast a piece of a millstone upon bloody *Abimelech* from the wall, that he died in *Thebez*? *Judg.* 9. 53, 54. 2 Sam. 11. 21. Did not *Saul* kill himself? 1 Sam. 31. 4. Did not GOD take ten tribes out of the hand of *Rehoboam*, for his father *Solomons* idolatry and oppression? 1 King. 11. 33, 35. and *Chap.* 22. 4, 16. Did not dogs lick the blood of *Ahab*, in the place where *Naboth* was unjustly stoned? 1 King. 21. 19. and *Chap.* 22. 38. And was not the whole house of *Abab* afterwards destroyed by *Iehu*? 2 King. 10. 11. *Hoshea* and all his kindred, for their wickednesse, were given into the hands of the King of *Assyria*, 2 King. 17. 4, 6. Idolatrous *Iehoram*, his guts fell out, 2 Chron. 21. 9. Proud *Faziah* was smitten with leprosie, *Chap.* 26. 20, 21. Wicked *Adarassah* was bound with fetters and carried to *Babylon*, *Chap.* 33. 11. Boasting *Nebuchadnezzar* was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his haire was growne like Eagles feathers, and his nailes like birds clawes, *Dan.* 4. 10. Persecuting *Herodias* eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost, *Acts* 12. 23. And indeed it is very hard to finde any one King despising his charge and duty by the breach of Gods Law and the oppression of his subjects, upon whom God hath not laid some heavy temporall judgement. So that to be accountable unto God onely, and to have him onely to be judge, is not to be set at liberty, but the more carefull and dili-

gent ought the King to be in his calling, knowing that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Heb. 10. 31.

Nor hath God left his people without remedy, in case a King should become so wicked as to abandon his duty and fear of God. For he hath in the Scriptures set forth severall means and remedies which the Subjects may and must use; and they are five.

The first means is, by exhorting the King unto his duty, and often putting him in minde thereof; this was frequently used by the Prophets, Psal. 82. 2, 3, 4. Isa. 1. 17. Jer. 22. 3. Ezek. 45. 9. And all the tribes of Israel told *David* of his duty when he was made King, saying, *The Lord said to thee, Thou shalt feed my Israel, and thou shalt be a Captain over Israel.* 2 Sam. 5. 2.

The second is, by dissuading the King from his evill course. Thus *Joab* dissuaded *David* from numbering the people, 2 Sam. 24. 3. Thus a man of God dissuaded *Amaziah* from hiring men out of Israel, 2 Chr. 25. 6, 7.

The third is, by reprovng. Thus *Nathan* reprov'd *David* for murder and adultery, 2 Sam. 12. 9. *Elijah* reprov'd *Ahab*, 1 King. 18. 18. *Amos* the Princes of Israel, Chap. 6. 1. And *Iohn the Baptist* reprov'd *Herod the Tetrarch*, Luke 3. 19.

Observe, that the remedies aforesaid do not belong to every subject: For every one who listeth may not exhort, dissuade, or reprove the King, but the Scriptures expresse onely the Ministers of God, the Elders, Nobles, and such who are in eminent and fit place to have used these meanes, and that with all reverence and modesty, 1 Sam. 24. 9. Prov. 25. 15.

The fourth remedy is, by flying or concealing our selves from the King. Thus you shall finde *David* alwayes flying from *Saul*, 1 Sam. *Elijah* fled from *Iezabel* into the wilderness, 1 King. 19. 34. *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* hid themselves from *Iehoiakim*, Jerem. 36. 19. *Ioseph* took *Iesus* and his Mother, and by night fled into Egypt from *Herod*, Matth. 2. 14. And Saint *Paul* fled from the Jewish Rulers who would have stoned him, Acts 14. 6.

But neither this, nor any one of the other three Remedies before mentioned, are sure and certain to attain the end aimed at: For *Jeremiah* may exhort, but *Zedekiah* will not regard, 2 Chr. 36. 12. *Joab* may dissuade, but *David's* word shall prevail, 2 Sam. 24. 4. A Prophet may reprove, but *Ieroboam* will not amend, 1 King. 13. 4, 33. *Vrijah* may flee into Egypt, but *Iehoiakim* will fetch him back again. Jer. 26. 21, 23.

The fifth and last remedy is, by flying unto God in prayer with a serious and unstained repentance for sin. This is the chief, the certain, and never failing remedy which Gods children have used at all times in their distresses. When *the children of Israel sighed by reason of the Egyptian bondage, and cried unto God, then the Lord came down and sent Moses to deliver them, Exod. 2. 23. and Chap. 3. 7, 8, 10.* In the time of the Judges, when the Israelites repented of their wickednesse, and cried unto the Lord, the Lord alwayes raised them up deliverers, *Judg. 3. 9, 15. and Chap. 4. 3, 24. and Chap. 6. 6, 14. and Chap. 10. 15, 16. and Chap. 11. 29.* After their return from *Babylon*, being in miserable slavery under the Kings of Assyria, they assembled *with fasting and with sack-clothes, and with earth upon them*, repenting and acknowledging Gods goodnesse and their ingratitude, humbly craving his mercy. And then *they made a sure covenant* (not a Covenant of rebellion by force to resist their Sovereigne, and to free themselves from oppression, as some corrupters of the truth would now a dayes perswade ignorant people) *but a covenant or oath to walk in Gods Law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and doe all the commandments of the Lord their God, and his judgements and his Statutes. Nehem. 9. 1, 2, 3, 8. and Chap. 10. 29.* The Psalmes do plentifully shew Davids practice in this kinde, *Psal. 108. 12. and 109. 26. and 112. 4, 7. and 142. 4, 5.* The Prophet *Micah* having set forth the small number of the righteous, and the wickednesse of those times concludeth with this, as the onely sure remedy, *Therefore will I looke unto the Lord: I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me. I will beare the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, untill he plead my cause and execute judgement for me, Mic. 7. 7, 9.* Whereby it is clear, that the surest meanes of release from slavery, oppression, or any other misery whatsoever, which the vilest King can bring upon his Subjects, is by prayer unto God with a serious repentance for sinne, and a patient expectation of Gods mercy untill his time appointed.

There are two strong reasons expressed in holy Writ to confirme this. The first is, because *the Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will. Prov. 21. 1* The latter is, because all affliction is from him, and he does limit it according to his divine pleasure. *Affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground, Job 5. 6. To me belongeth vengeance and recompence, saith the Lord, their foot shall slide in due time. 1,*

even I am he, and there is no God with me, I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand, Deut. 32.35.39. I make peace, and create evil, Isa. 45.7. Shall there be evil in a City, and the Lord hath not done it? Amos 3.6. Yet will I not make a full end of thee, but I will correct thee in measure, Jer. 30.11. and Chs. 46.28. It is therefore most agreeable to reason, that in times of oppression under unjust Kings, we should flie unto God, since he onely sendeth, limiteth, and can free us from bondage and afflictions.

This was alwayes the course of Gods Saints under the Gospel, inasmuch that it grew into a proverbiall speech, *Preces & lachryma arma Ecclesie*, Prayers and teares are the weapons of the Church.

Gregory Nazianzen Orat. 2. in Iulianum, writes thus: *Repressus est Iulianus Christianorum lachrymis, quas multas multi profuderunt, hoc unum adversus persecutorem medicamentum habentes*: Iulian was restrained by the tears of the Christians, which many shed forth abundantly, having this onely remedy against the persecuter. Not because the Christians were then utterly destitute of all means of forcible resistance; but because this was the onely just remedy, approved by God. For considering that Iulian succeeded Constantius the sonne of Constantine the Great, who was a diligent professour and propagatour of the Christian Faith, and a promoter of Christians throughout the whole Empire, it cannot well be conceived, how the Christians when Iulian came to the Government, should be either few in number, or meane in power. Besides, those words of Nazianzen, *Illis nulla alia arma, nec muri, nec praesidia, prater spem in Deum, reliqua erant*; No other armes but hope in God; no Fortified places, nor Garrisons, were left (or remained) unto them, imply, That Iulian had taken from the Christians all their Arms, Forts, and Garrisons; which he could not have done, had they not had them; and if they had them, then were they not destitute of all means of resistance. But a most full and undeniable testimony both of their strength and number was that huge host of Christians, which Iulian brought against the Persians. I say, of Christians: For when Iovinian (after the Apostate was slain with a Persian dart) was by the Host chosen Emperour, and had testified openly, That he, being a Christian, would not in any wise take upon him the Government of men professing Gentilisme; *Omnes unâ voce confessi sunt, se esse Christianos*; They all with one voice confessed that they were Christians. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 18.*

Here Ambrose in *Oras. contra Iulianum*, *Repugnare non novi, dolere*

ultra potero; potero flere; potero gemitu: ultra sum arma, milites; Gothos, Inchoryma ueni, tu: arma sunt; ultra nec debet, nec possum resistere: How to resist I know not, I can grieve, I can weep, I can sigh: my tears are my weapons against weapons, Soldiers, Goths: in any other way I neither must nor may resist. And that Ambrose held this not onely to be his duty, but the duty even of all persons whatsoever (as well Civil as Ecclesiasticall) unto their lawfull Sovereign; appeareth by his high and affectionate commendation of the peoples behaviour towards their wicked Emperour Valentinian, when he would have had them to come out of their Churches, and have lift them to Arrians. His words are these, In singulis uobis Iob reuixit, in singulis sancti patientia & uirtus refulsit. Quid enim presentius dici potuit a uirito Christianis, quam quod hodie in uobis loquutus est Spiritus Sanctus? Rogamus Auguste, non pugnamus, non timemus, sed rogamus. Hoc Christianos dicit. In each of you Iob liues againe; In each the patience and uirtue of that holy man has againe shined. For what could be better spoken by Christian men, then that which the holie Ghost spake this day in you? We beseech, O Royall Emperour, we fight not; We are not afraid, but intreat. This becommeth Christians. Amb. l. 5. Ep. 33. ad Marcel.

Hearc Theodores de Provid. Orat. 7. Quoties tyranni ad gubernacula Reipublice sedent, aut Domini crudiles rem familiarem administrant, pia precatione, & seria emendatione morum ira Dei placanda est, & petenda mitigatio praesentium difficultatum & molestiarum. Whensoeuer tyrants sit at the sterne of the Common-wealth, or cruell Lords doe rule the affaires, Gods anger must be pacified, and a mitigation of our present distresses and troubles sought for, by holy praying, and a serious amendment of our liues.

Hearc Bernard's resolution, Ep. 370. ad Ludovicum Regem. Si totius uobis aduersum me conueneret, ut quippiam molirer aduersus Regiam Majestatem, ego tamen Deum timeo, & ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non audeo; nec enim ignoro ubi legerim, qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit: If the whole world should conspire against me, to the end that I should doe something against the Kings Majesty, yet I would feare God, and not dare rashly to offend the King ordained by him: For I know where I haue read, that he who resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God. And the same Father, Epist. 222. Quicquid uobis derogat iustitia, diuinitas, & curam uestra facere placet, ut Ecclesia filii, maius in iurias, contempnum, & consuetudinem omnino dissimulare non possumus. Profecto stabimus, & pugnamus usque ad mortem

mortem (si ita oportuerit) pro matre nostrâ, armis quibus licet, non scissis & gladiis, sed precibus & fletibus ad Deum. Whatsoever you may please to make of your Kingdom, life, and Crown; we the sons of the Church cannot altogether dissemble the wrongs, disgrace, and spurning of our mother. Verily for our mother we will stand, and fight even unto death (if need be) with such weapons as are lawfull, not with Shields and Swords, but with prayers, and teares to God. And to prevent us from limittting his words meerly unto Monkes and Clergy-men, (yet they are sons of the Church no more then Laicks) he expressely notes the vniversality of the Apostles command, *Let every soul be subiect*, Rom. 13. 1. and saith, *Qui conatur excipere, conatur decipere*; He that goes about to except any, goes about to deceive. *Epist. 42. ad Archiep. Senonens.*

Hear *Peter Mart. Comment. in lib. Iud. cap. 5.* *Licet cum aliquos cernimus in homines pios & Euangelicum Filii Dei crudeliter grassari, orare, ut vel eorum mutetur voluntas, vel frangantur vires, quo non omnia possunt efficere, qua designant: qua si nequeant impetrari, saltem id precandum est, ut vires & robur nobis à Deo suppetant, ad ea omnia perfrenda, qua ad honorem & gloriam ejus conducant: When we see some men so rage cruelly against the godly, and the Gospel of the Sonne of God, it is lawfull to pray, that either their mind may be changed, or their strength braken, whereby they may not be able to bring to passe all which they purpose: Which if they cannot be obtained, we must verily beg this; that we may have sufficient strength and courage from God, to bear all those things which may tend to his honour and glory.*

Hear *Craumer the Martyr, lib. de Christ. hominis institut.* *Si Principes contra quam ipsorum officium postulat, fecerint, non habent in hoc seculo superiores a Deo constitutos Iudices, sed Deo rationem sunt reddituri, qui sibi soli iudicium eorum reservavit. Nefas autem subditis est, quantum cunq; mali Principes fuerint, seditionem aut rebellionem excitare; sed orationibus interpellandus est Deus, in cuius manuum Regnum cordi sumus, ut spiritum suo illustret eos, quo recte ad Dei gloriam, gladio sibi tradito, utamur. If Princes shall do otherwise then their duty doth require, they have not judges placed over them by God in this world, but shall hereafter render an account unto God, who hath reserved their judgment unto himself alone. But it is a cursed act for subiects, how wicked soever Princes be, to stir up sedition and rebellion; but God, in whose hands the hearts of Kings are, must be by prayer, required, that he would enlighten them with his spirit, whereby they may rightly use the sword delivered unto them, to the glory of God.*

Thus, Reader, I have set before thee those remedies which Gods word hath declared, and the practice of Gods children hath approved to be lawfull for Subjects to use against unjust, cruell, and oppressing Sovereignes. Murmure not thou against God, because he hath reserved unto himself only the power of restraining the Prince. *Is it not lawfull for God to do what he will with his own? Matth. 20. 15.* Wilt thou say, that God hath not provided for the safety of his Church, and people, because he hath not made thee a Judge and punisher of thy Sovereigne? Art thou able to search into the Lords wayes? or canst thou direct the Lord? *Should it be according to thy mind saith Iob? When he gives quietnesse, who then can make trouble? and when he hideth his face, who then can behold him? Whether it be done against a Nation, or against a man only, Job 34. 29. 33.*

Seeing then all things are according to the wise disposing of our gracious God; Cast thy burden on the Lord, Psal. 55. 22. *God is a very present help in trouble, Psal. 46. 1. Commit thy way unto the Lord: trust al- so in him, and he shall bring it to passe. Rest in the Lord, and wait patient- ly for him: fret not thy selfe, because of the man who bringeth wicked de- vices to passe. For the evil-doers shall be cut off; but those that waite up- on the Lord, they shall inherit the earth, Psal. 37. 5, 7, 9, 34.*

The fourth Evasion.

But thou wilt say, What is all this to us, who live not under such a King as the Scriptures make mention of?

The Answer.

Though I intended onely the satisfaction of thy Conscience, which can admit of no other rule then the Word of God. For, *L. x Dei sola ob- ligat conscientiam hominis. Et ipsa leges humane, qua sunt leges homi- num, non obligant conscientiam, Ames. de cas. Conscient. l. 1. c. 2.* The Law of God doth only binde the conscience of man. And humane laws, as they are the lawes of men, doe not bind the conscience. Yet because the re- ctifying of the judgement, is a ready meanes to the rectifying of the conscience; and because this evasion is by some much boasted of, I shall therefore briefly set forth the excellent and sweet agreement which the Laws of this Land have with the Laws of God in this particular; affirming, That the King of England is such a King as the Scrip- tures mention; and that in foure respects:

1. In His right to the Crown.
2. In His Power.
3. In His Charge and duty.

4 In the rendering of His Account.

2. *His right to His Crown is by birth, descent, or hereditary succession.*
And this appeares,

First, by that part of the Oath of Allegiance which is used in every Leet, *That you shall be true and faithful to our Sovereigne Lord K. Charles and his heirs*, which shewes the descent.

Secondly, because we do our legiance to the King in his naturall capacity, and therefore he holds the Kingdome in His naturall capacity, *that is*, as He is Charles the son and heire apparent of King James of blessed memory. For legiance or homage cannot be done to the King in His politique capacity, for so the body of the King is invisible, *Coke. l. 7. Caluins case.*

Thirdly, in the case aforesaid, it is expressly affirmed, *that the King holds the Kingdom of England by birth-right inherent by descent from the blood-Royall.* And how inseparable this right is from the next in blood, you may see in *Henry the 4.* who though he was also of the Blood-royall, and had the Crown resigned unto him from *Richard the 2.* and confirmed by Act of Parliament; yet he never was in surcease of himself, nor had or enjoyed any profit and quiescence either in minde or body; and on his death-bed he acknowledged he had no right thereunto, praying God to forgive the sinfull meanes, whereby he obtained it. *Hollinshead. vol. 3. fol. 656. Speed. l. 9. c. 14.*

Lastly, by all the Judges, *1. Jac.* at the arraignment of *Watson* and Clerk two Seminary Priests, it was resolved that immediately by descent His Majesty was completely and absolutely King without the ceremony of Coronation, which was but a Royall ornament and outward solemnization of the descent.

This is plainly illustrated by *Hen. 6.* who was not Crowned till the ninth yeere of His reign, *Speed. l. 9. c. 16.* yet divers were attainted of treason before that time, which could not have been, had He not been King. Besides we know, that upon the death of the King, His Successor is forthwith proclaimed, which shewes, that the King hath his Kingdome by descent, and staies not to be made King by the people at his Coronation. Indeed the people are then asked their consent, not that they have power to deny, but that the King having their consent, may with greater security and confidence relie on His people.

Thus thou seest the Kings right to the Crown is by Succession.

As to the second respect, it is evident, *That the power of the King of England, is by the Laws of the Land as great and Royall as that, which I*
have

have proved out of the Scriptures to belong unto the King. For, He onely may proclaime war, and he onely can establish peace among His people, *Coke, 7. Rep. fol. 25. b.*

He alone uses Martiall Law in the Field. *Smith Commonw. l. 2. c. 4.* He alone decrees the money of the Realm. *Idem dd. l. Daltion. fol. 229.* He alone pardons felons. *20. H. 7. fol. 8. a.*

There is no lawfull assembly, meeting, or Court, but by Authority from Him. Yea the High Court of Parliament was devised, framed, and instituted by Him. *Pol. Virg. l. 11. Speed, Stow, Martin, Baker, and many others in the life of Henry the 1. The Attourneys Academie, pag. 219.*

By Him all Lawes, Charters, Customes, and Franchises are granted and confirmed unto the people, *Rot. Claus. 1. R. 2. m. 44. Mag. Chart. c. 1. Chart. de Forreſt. c. 1.*

By Him all Officers of the Realm, whether Spirituall or Temporal, are chosen and established. The chiefe and highest by Himselfe immediately. *Smith Commonw. l. 2. c. 4.* The inferiour, by authority from Him. *Idem c. 5.*

He hath the sole power of ordering and disposing all the Castles, Ports, and strong Holds, and all the Ports and Havens, and generally all the Militia of His Kingdome. For otherwise it will follow, that the King hath power to proclaime war, and not to maintain it: That the King is bound to maintain His Subjects, and is denyed the means: Both which are contrary to our Law, which admits no absurdity. *In lege quiretſe regit, neceſſaria ſunt duo hæc, Arma videlicet & Leges. Arma defecerunt contra hoſtes, rebelles, & indomitos, ſic erit regnum indefenſum. Si autem Leges, ſic exterminabitur iuſtitia.* In a King, theſe rules well (ſaith Bracton, fol. 1. a.) theſe two things are neceſſary; viz. Armes and Lawes. If Armes be wanting againſt enemies, rebels, and unruly perſons, then the Kingdom will be without defence: But if Lawes, then Juſtice will be baniſhed. And fol. 55. b. *Dominus Rex habet in manu ſua materialeſq. gladium, qui pertinet ad Regni gubernaculum;* Our Lord the King hath in his hand the materiall ſword, which belongs unto the government of the Kingdome. Now what is the Materiall ſword, but the Militia?

To be ſhort, The King is the life, the head, and the authority of all things that be done in the Realme of England, *Smith ibid. Fons iuſtitia, ſui Miniſter & Vicarius, Bract. fol. dd. He is the Fountain of Juſtice; Our Miniſter and Vice-gerent. In Him reſides the ſupreme judicatory power,*

power. Bract. fo. 107, 108. Lamb. Archion. pag. 111, 139. *His jurisdiction is above all jurisdiction in his Realm*, Brittan. cited by Lamb. Arch. pag. 113. *Parens non habet in Regno, nec superiorem. Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.* Idem l. i. c. 8. *In His Kingdom He hath no equal nor superior. Every one is under Him, and He under none, but under God only. Supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habet: nec in imperii clientela est, nec investituram ab alio accipit, nec preter Deum, superiorem agnoscit.* Cambden. Brit. pag. 132. *He hath Sovereign power and a mere Empire with us: He is not under the protection of the Roman Emperour, nor doth He take investiture from any other; nor besides God, doth acknowledge any above Him.*

We are bound by Oath to maintain His Sovereignty in all causes, and over all persons as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill: not over singular persons, as some would glosse it, but over all, even the Body politique. For by divers, sundry, old, authentique Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by our supreme Head and King, having the dignity and Royall Estate of the Imperiall Crown of the same; unto whom a body politique, compatt of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in termes, and by name of Spirituall and Temporality, have been bounden and oven to bear next to God, a natural and humble Obedience. Preface to a Stat. 24 H. 8. c. 12. So the Articles of our Church (unto which all Ministers and Graduates of the University are sworne) in the 37. Article, *The Kings Majesty hath the chiefe power in this Realme of England, and other His Dominions; unto whom the chiefe Government of all Estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Civill in all Causes both appertain.*

Note.

The third respect is in His charge and duty, which consists in the observance of the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Laws of this Realm.

To observe the Law of God, He is bound as a Christian: to observe the Law of Nature, He is bound as a man: to observe the Laws of his Realm, He is bound as a King.

Nor is he onely bound *vinculo officii*, as he is King, though this is a strict tie, considering to whom he must one day render an account of his Stewardship; but he is also bound *vinculo juramenti*, by an Oath taken at his Coronation. The effect whereof is this, *To keep, confirm, and defend all Lawes, Customs, and Freedomes, granted by His Prede-*

cessors

assure the Clergy or people; To preserve peace and concord in God's church; and cause a equal and right justice to be done according to His power. Whence it is cleare, that the King hath His duty enjoyned him, and ought not to make His Will the rule of His actions.

The fourth and last respect, is in the rendring of His account. For as the Kings mentioned in the Scriptures were not, so the King of England is not accountable for His actions to any but God alone.

First, because the King of England hath not his Crown from any but God alone; from whose gracious hand he hath received it by the ordinary means of hereditary succession; and was in the beginning obtained by the Sword, *Forsefc. c. 17. fol. 38. b. Smith. l. 1. c. 9.*

Secondly, the Oath which He takes at His Coronation, binds Him only before God; for there is no condition, proviso, or limitation, whereby He is made accountable unto His people.

Thirdly, by the testimony of *Bracton*, fol. 34. a. b. *Si à Rege petatur (cum Breve non currit contra Regem) locum aris supplicationi, quod fallum suum corrigas, emendat; si non feceris, satis eris ei ad penam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem.* It ought to be desired of the King, (since a Writ cannot go forth against the King) an intreaty must come in stead, that he would correct and amend his doing: if he do not, it will be punishment enough, that he expect the Lord to be the avenger.

To the same purpose *Thomas de Walsingham* mentions a letter written to the Bishop of Rome in the name of the whole Kingdom, from the Parliament held at *Lincoln*, *An. Dom. 1301.* wherein are these words, *Scimus, Pater sanctissime, & notorium est, à prima institutione Regni Anglia, tam temporibus Britannorum, quam Anglorum, quod totum & directum dominium ad Regem pertinuit, neque Reges Anglia ex libera præminentia Regia dignitatis, & consuetudine cunctis temporibus observata, coram aliquo iudice Ecclesiastico vel seculari responderant, aut respondere debebant.* We know, most holy Father, and it is manifest, from the very beginning of the Kingdom of England, as well in the times of the Brittaines, as of the Angles, that the certaine and direct Dominion hath belonged unto the King, neither have the Kings of England (by reason of the unbounded preheminance of the Royall Dignity and inflexible observance in all ages) answered, or ought to answer before any Judge Ecclesiasticall or Civil.

An Objection.

Reason is ill thus object. From whom the King receiveth His power, in whom He is accountable; but from His people the King receiveth His

power. As *Fortescue* delivers, c. 13. *Ad tutelam Regis subditorum, ac eorum corporum, & bonorum, Rex erectus est; & ad hanc potestatem populo effluxam ipse habet. A King is ordained for the defence of the Law of his subjects, and of their bodies and goods: whereunto He receiveth power of his people. Therefore to his people the King is accountable.*

The Answer.

Did the maker of this objection rightly set down the words of *Fortescue*, he might easily answer himselfe. For it is not barely *Rex*, a King; but *Rex huiusmodi*, such a King; meaning a King whose government is meerely politique. But the government of *England* is not meerely politique, (where the intention of the people, is the first lively thing) nor meerely regall, (where the Prince his pleasure is a Law) but mixt; partly regall, partly politique; as he saith presently after; *Regnum Anglia, ex Bruti comitiva Trojanorum, in Dominium politicam & regale prorpit; The Kingdom of England out of Brutus his retinue of the Trojans, first grew into a politique and regall Dominion.* And in the 9. cap. *Rex Anglia principatu, nedum regali, sed & Politico, suo populo dominatur. The King of England governeth His people by Dominion, not merely regall, but also politique.*

How it is regall, and how politique, doth plainly appeare by what hath been before spoken: For in regard all power and authority is from Him, and He holds His Kingdom, and therewithall His power from God onely; it must needs be that His government is regall; And in regard He is tied to the observance of the Lawes of His Kingdome, (whereby *Potestas regia lege politica cohibetur. Fortesc. c. 9. the power regall is restrained by a law politique*) it must needs follow that this government is politique. So that in reference to His power, He is a regall King; in reference to His duty He is a politique King.

The objection therefore being grounded upon *Fortescues* words of a Kingdome meerely politique, does not concerne our kingdom.

And truly to as little purpose do some alledge those words of reverend and learned Doctor *Bilson*, *Christ. subject. & Antichrist. Reb. pag. 279. 280.* For albeit he admits, that in States meerely politique, (such as are *Germany, the Low-Countries, Switzerland, Poland*, where the Prince or Governour is chosen and limited by a Dyet, Senate, or the Votes of the people) the Nobles and Commons make resistance, to preserve the foundation, freedom, and forme of their Common-wealth, which they surprized when they first consented to have a King; yet wherewith doth he say, that our Kingdome of *England* is a State meerely politique, whose King

King was limited to conditions? No, his preferring the Royalty of Queen Elizabeth (in whose reign he wrote) before that of the Emperour of Germany, declares his judgement to be otherwise; The German Emperour (saith he) is elected, and his power abated by the Liberties and Prerogatives of his Princes, that owe not many services, and those conditional. The Queen of England inheriteth and hath one and the same right over ALL her Subjects be they Nobles or others. Idem. pag. 277. So in another place; They who choose one Governour, have the same right to choose another if he be unfit: which is nothing to Princes that inherit, nor to subjects that are absolutely bound to obey as in the Realme of England, and some others they be. pag. 275.

Another Objection.

He who is under the Law, may be called to account for his actions, but the king is under the Law, *Bracton*, fol. 5. b. *Ipsa Rex debet esse sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem.* The King himself ought to be under God, and under the Law, because the Law makes the King.

The Answer.

We must here call to mind, that there is a twofold power in the Law, *A directing power, and a correcting power.*

In respect of the former, the King is under the Law, *that is to say*, the Law is the line and rule whereby the will of the King is guided and directed; and in this sense *Bracton* spake. In respect of the latter, the King is not under the Law. For how can we possibly conceive, that he who giveth life to the Law, should by the Law offer force unto himselfe, and compell himselfe?

He that is under the former power onely, is accountable to God onely for his actions; as the King. But he that is under both powers of the Law, is accountable both to God and the Law: as is every Subject.

In respect of the former, the Law is the object and rule of Justice, and the King is under the Law. In respect of the latter, the Law is the instrument of Justice, and so the King is not under the Law; but the Law means serving the King to governe his people.

Take an example, A servant who guides and directs his master, as he guide, is superiour to his master; but consider him as an instrument or servant unto his master; and though he be never so wise and upright, yet his master is above him.

And as the Law is said to be above the King, so in the same sense, His Councill may also be said to be above him, *that is*, in respect they guide,

guide, direct, and advise the King in the governing of his people. For
*to wit: Regis auctoritate de iusticiis, subdit. Rex habet in populo regenda
 superiora. Legem per quam factus est, & curiam suam, videlicet, Co-
 mites & Barones. The King hath superiours in the governing of his peo-
 ple, the Law, by which He is made, and His Councell or Court, to wit,
 the Earles and Barons.*

A Reply.

But you will tell me, that *Bracton* placeth more then a directing power, in His Court of Earles and Barons: For he saith, fol. 34. a. *Rex superiorem habet, scilicet Deum; item Legem per quam factus est Rex: Item curiam suam, viz. Comites & Barones; quia Comites dicuntur quasi socii Regis, & qui habet socium habet magistrum: & id eo si Rex fuerit sine fratre, i.e. sine Lege, debens ei fratrum reponere; The King hath a superiour, to wit, God: Also the Law, by which he is made a King. Likewise His Court, namely the Earles and Barons; because the Earles are called as it were the Kings Companions; and he that hath a Companion, hath a Master: And therefore if the King shall be without a bridle, that is, without the Law, they ought to bridle him again. And accordingly we read, that the Barons have taken up armes against unjust and tyrannous Kings, as against King John, Henry the third, Edward the second, and others. Therefore the Kings great Court of Barons have able to a correcting or coercive power.*

The Answer.

I answer. First, that *Bracton* doth not in this place deliver his own judgment, but the assertion and phansy of some other man, unworthy his naming; as appears by the introduction unto the words, *Sed dicere poteris quod, But some one may say, &c.* And probably it was the doctrine which the Barons and their associates infused into the minds of the vulgar to uphold their commotions against King John, and Henry the third. Not much unlike that of *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who to bridle King John from working the ruins of the Kingdom (of which he was assured, for sooth, by some divining fore-sight) did persuade, that the English Crown was merely arbitrary and elective at the peoples devotion, by the precedent of *Saul*. Speed. l. 9. c. 8. n. 5. Or like that of *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who enjoyed the Arch-rebellious Earle of *Excester* in remissione peccatorum, ut canis illam usque ad mortem assumeret; afferens, pacem Ecclesia Anglicana a sim gladio materialis nunquam firmari posse; That is to be expected from him of *Saul*, he should not put upon him that Cause concerning the Barons insurrection against Henry the

the third) even unto the death; affirming, that the peace of the Church of England could never be established without the material sword. See the troublesome life and reign of Henry the third; pag. 6, 7. *Ex Marsh. Paris.*

Secondly, *Bracton* is so farre from ascribing any such superiority unto the Barons, that he directly avoucheth the contrary. *Diversa potestates sub Rege; Comes videlicet, liberi homines, &c.* There are saith he divers powers under the King; to wit, Earles, Freemen, &c. *Reus Rex non debet esse sub homine; The King himselfe ought not to be under man.* lib. 1. c. 8. fol. 5. b.

Taindly, The argument here brought to prove the Barons superiority, is lame, most absurd, and ridiculous; altogether dissonant to the wisdom, learning, and gravity of *Bracton*. For should wee grant what is beg'd, that he that hath a companion hath a master: yet where shall we finde the Kings companion? The Earles are only called the Kings companions; nay lesse, they are but called as it were the Kings companions; it is not said, they are His companions. And suppose they were so: yet how does it follow, therefore they are His masters and ought to bridle Him, if He be without a bridle? Is there no distinction, no difference at all betwixt a companion and a master? What need lesse, confused reasoning is this?

As to the Barons taking up armes against King John, Henry the third, Edward the second, if we search our Chronicles, we shall finde small encouragement to follow their steps.

In Kings Johns reigne (*Speed lib. 9. c. 8. n. 4.*) the Peeres under the titles of Liberties and Rights, drew not onely undue restraints upon the Royalty, but also infinite calamities and massacres on the people, whose good they pretended, and (like cunning Scatists) works on the advantage of the time and the necessity of their Prince, whose present condition fitted for any obtrusions: and therefore in the great Assembly at Northampton they yeelded onely to swear a conditionall fealty, which was the first kind of all disloyalties. And what was the fruit? but most insolent carriage toward the King, audacious messages, and inventing lies on him; (*ib. 12. 20.*) disavowing him, and betraying the Kingdom unto Lewis the son of Philip King of France (to whom they swear fealty, and immediately after King Johns death again renounced it, *Polyd. Virgil. Hist. Angl. lib. 15. c. 16.*) adding treason to treason, perjury to perjury, till length they brought both themselves and the whole Kingdome into irreparable fruits and calamities.

In the reigne of Henry the third, the discontented Barons upon the like

like grounds in a Parliament at Oxford, forced the King to render up unto their rebellious wills his Royall power; and to commit the managing of the State to twelve Peeres. See the troublesome life and reign of King Henry the third. pag. 9. He had neither left him election of publique Officer, nor private attendance: he was onely a King in name, not in authority, nor in power. *Martin. Hist. pag. 68.*

Great was the joy and expectation of the people, who supposed that by this forme of limited policy they had utterly suppressed all imagination of licentious Sovereignty; But it fell out nothing so for now every man began to estimate his own worth, and to hammer his head upon all designs that might enlarge his power and command. Then began the great men to pull from the body of the Country and Regall Sovereignty such Royal suiters as neighboured any of their own seats, whereunto they enforced the service, and as the Record saith, *Ad seſſas indobitas & ſervitutes intolerabiles ſubdiſſi Regis compulſi ſunt*; They constrained the Kings ſubjects to undue ſallions and unſufferable thraldomes. Thus raiſing Mannours to become great Honours, and rending aſunder the Regall juſtice, they made themſelves of ſo many ſubjects while they lived in duty, totidem tyrannos, ſo many Tyrants, (as the Book of Saint Albans ſaith) when they had leſt their loyalty. *Magnas duxerunt, magnates Regni ſuper ſubdiſſos Regis ſervitutes & oppreſſiones.* The Nobles of the Realme brought great ſlaveries and oppreſſions upon the Kings ſubjects. The troublesome life and reign of Henry the third. pag. 10.

In brief, moſt bloody and unnaturall wars brake forth, and at Lewin in Suffex more then 20000 men were ſlaine; where the King himſelf, and his ſon Prince Edward, were taken priſoners by his audacious Barons, who now triumphed in their deſperate courſes. *Martyn. hiſt. pag. 72. 73.* But behold, behold here an admirable example of Divine Juſtice, which never ſuffers murder and treason to eſcape unpuniſhed; For even in the very height of their inſolencies, when they thought themſelves moſt ſecure, having both King and Kingdom in their poſſeſſion, then hapned a great diſcord betwixt the Earles of Leyceſter and of Gloceſter, who were the two Generalls of the Barons ſallion. The young Prince Edward takes advantage by reaſon of this jarre, joynes with Gloceſter; they raiſe an Army in Wales, and give battell to the Barons neer Ewſelme in Worceſterſhire, where they ſlew the Earle of Leyceſter, and 17 Barons and Knights, and ſo diſcomfited their whole Army, that they were never able to make head again. *Speed. l. 9. c. 9. n. 102. 103. Martyn. pag. 74.*

The King thus freed and obeyed, forthwith calls a Parliament, wherein the Acts made in the ~~mad~~ Parliament at Oxford (for so it is called to this day) were publicly damned, cancelled, and made void. He forgave most of the Rebels; *Tet lest His justice and power might so much suffer in his mercy; some few he punished by small fines, some by banishments.* Onely with the City of London, he was exceedingly incensed, and resolved to burne it to the ground; but upon the Londoners submission on their knees, and confession of their yeelding up their lands, their goods and their lives, together with the whole City to the Kings grace and mercy, they were (by the mediation of the Prince) received into favour, and he onely took of them a fine of 1000 markes, and restored them to all their liberties and customs. Martyn. hist. pag. 75. After this the Kingdom flourished, and all the actions on His future reign were exact grounds of discipline and policy, settling the State, and making excellent Lawes to the joy of his subiects, and his own glory; so that He deservedly wore the stile of **Enlands Justin**, and the high stile of the **Crownes** deliverer from the Subjection and Wardship of the Peeres. The troublesome life and reign of Henry the third. pag. 14.

In King Edward the seconds time, The Barons out of hatred to the large honours bestowed by the King on the two Spencers, raised a strong Army, and boldly marched into the field under the conduct of Thomas Earle of Lancaster, forgetting that undutifully they fought against their Sovereigne Lord: but the King met them at Burrough-bridge in York-shire, overthrew them, and slew many of the Barons, and thousands of their adherents, took the Earles of Lancaster, Hereford, and many other Lords prisoners, and afterwards caused two and twenty of them to lose their heads in severall places of this Realme, to the great astonishment of the rest, and terror of the vulgar sort. Speed. l. 9. c. 12. n. 35, 39, 43. Martyn. hist. pag. 96, 97.

I might easily enlarge my self in this point, & shew, how the dreadful vengeance of God did alwayes pursue the rebellious Barons, to the utter extirpation of them and their posterity; yea, of those who were most prevalent against their Lord and Sovereigne: but because the Objection leads me no further, and also because *Master Speed* in his learned and incomparable *History of Great Britaine*, hath punctually and piously observed the same, I shall referre you unto him: onely desiring you to take into consideration, whether the manifest Commandement of God, the example of our blessed Saviour, and the constant obedience of this Church from the beginning of the world, untill above a thou-

sand yeers after His Passion, be rather to be followed then such Popish presidents, such hatefull and heathenish devices, which the son of perdition hath lately broched.

A Doubt.

But here a doubt may arise, what *Braſſon* and *Fleta* should meane, when they say, *The Law makes the King.*

Resolved.

I answer, There are two singular and excellent benefits which by the Law redound unto the King. The one is, The Law doth declare and publish unto the people the Kings right unto the Crown, so that they quietly and willingly receive Him as their King, and submit unto Him. The other is, The Law doth support and strengthen Him in His Throne. In both which respects it may well be said, *That the Law makes the King*; and so my Lord Cook spake right, when he told King James, *That the Law set the Crown upon His head.*

This is evidenced by the Act of Parliament, 1 *lac.c.x.* where after a relation that King James was descended of the body of the most excellent Lady Margaret eldest daughter of the most renowned King Henry the seventh and Queen Elizabeth his wife eldest daughter of Edward the fourth; It is thus concluded (not by way of Authority, *We do nominate, constitute, and ordaine Him to be our King*, but) by way of humble declaration, *That the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in Parliament assembled, being bounden thereunto both by the Lawes of God and man, do recognize and acknowledge (and thereby expresse our unspeakable joyes) That immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth late Queen of England, the Imperiall Crown of the Realme of England, and of all the Kingdomes, Dominions and rights belonging to the same, did by inherent birth right and undoubted succession, descend and come to your most excellent Majesty as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole heire of the blood Royall of this Realm.*

The Objections being fully answered, that I may avoid all needlesse repetitions, I shall leave thee, Reader, to compare what hath been now proved, with what hath been before delivered out of the Scriptures; and thou shalt clearly finde, *That the King of England is such a King as the Scriptures make mention of.*

And if it be so, how then canst thou take up armes against Him? If He be wicked, what advantage will it be to thee to be worse? If He breake His Oath, wilt thou also breake thine? Or, canst thou say, that thou swearest Allegiance unto Him on condition of His good behaviour?

viour? Does the Statute 25 Ed. 3. c. 3. declare it to be treason, onely to leaue War against a good, a iust King? Why then did not the Protestants take up Armes against that bloody idolatrous Queene Mary? Why then is it treason to compasse the death of an Urturper of the Crown? *Dalt.* 227. Was not *Spencer* banished for affirming, *That if the King did not demean himselfe by reason, in the right of the Crown, His Lieges were bound by Oath to remove Him* i Stat. Ed. 2. called *Exilium Hugonis de Spencer.*

Oh I take heed of new coind distinctions: take heed of the sleights of men. There is no wickednesse but hath found some excuse.

In that great insurrection in *Richard* the seconds time, the Commons had a fair pretence. *Their intent was* (as they said) *to abolish the Law of villainage and servitude, and to slay the corrupt Iudges.* And they took an Oath, *Quod Regi & Communibus fidelitatem servarent*; To be true to the King and Commons: and that they would take nothing but what they paid for: and they punished all theft with death: yet in the Parliament of 5. *Rich. 2.* n. 31. they were adjudged Traitors.

Perkin Warbeck that vile Rebell, in his Proclamation to the people, could tell them, *That the King had put apart all well-disposed Nobles; had none in favour & trust about his person, but Caitives and Villains of birth: which by subtil inventions, and pilling of the people, had been the principal finders, occasioners, and Counsellours of the mis-rule and mischance now reigning in England.* He tells them of the great and execrable offences daily committed by the King and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of our Mother the holy Church; to the high displeasure of Almighty God: Besides, of manifold Treasons, abominable murders, man-slaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and unlawfull impositions, and grievous exactions. From all which grievances he promises redresse, if the people will joyn with him. Is not here a faire shew? and yet this was a foule rebellion. *Speed* l. 9. c. 20.

The Earls of Northumberland & Westmerland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, could in the Queens name command the Countrey to follow them in arms: Sometimes pretending the safety of her Majesties Person in danger (they said) by treasons in working; and sometime in case of conscience for restoring their former Religion. And in this zeale they hasted to Durham Minster, where they tare the Bible (and Communion Booke, and such other things as there were, saith *Stow*) in great contempt. Yet these were meer Rebels and Traitors. *Speed* l. 2. c. 24.

Wherefore examine, search diligently into the cause, every thing is not as it seems: *All is not gold that glisters.*

A Reformation is much spoken of; plain it is there is an alteration. Are not all our fixed Lawes turned into this one Law, *Salus populi, The safety of the people*? Are not our Goods, Lands, Liberties, seized on, yea, and that Legally? To wit, *Legis necessitas*, by the Law of necessity? Is not disobedience to the Commands of our Prince termed Loyaltie? Infinite are the evils which these sad distractions have produced; but I forbear, because they are fitter to be lamented then rehearsed.

If yet there remain one scruple unremoved concerning the power of Parliaments, I shall herein refer you to a Tract of Sir *Wm. Raleighs*, intituled, *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England*: and for thy present satisfaction shall desire thee to consider these foure things.

First, all agree, That the Parliament is as one Body, and the Head of this Body is the King. So *Dyer fol. 60. a. The Parliament* (saith he) consists of three parts: to wit, of the King, the chiefe Head; and of the Lords, the chiefe and principall Members of the Body; and of the Commons, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, the inferiour Members: and these make the Bodie of the Parliament. *Vsigitur in naturalibus, capite detruncato residuum non corpus, sed truncum appellamus: sic & in politicis, sine capite communis nullatenus corporatur.* Fortesc. c. 13. As therefore in things naturall, when the head is cut off, we call not the residue a body, but a stump or stoek: so likewise in things politick, a Communality without a head is in no wise corporate.

Secondly, the Oath of Allegiance does equally bind a member of the Parliament, as him who is not of the Parliament.

Thirdly, what power they have, is derived unto them by their Writ, by which the King calleth them to Parliament. Now the Writ runs, *Ad tractandum & consulendum*, To treat and advise. And should any exceed their Commission?

Fourthly and lastly, no Bill, though it be passed and consented unto by all the Lords and Commons in Parliament, can or ought to be taken as an Act or Ordinance; without it receive life from the Royall Assent, 33 H. 8. c. 21. *Crompt. Inq. of Courts, fol. 8. b. Smith. Commonw. l. 2. c. 3.* Nor is it true which some doe peevishly gather out of the Kings Answer, *La Roy s'adviseira*, the King will be advised, that therefore the King hath no power to dissent, no negative voice in passing of Bills. For, as *Lambert* notes, *it is the phrase whereby the Kings of this Realm*

use to deny their assent to any Act that hath passed the Lords and Commons in Parliament. Lamb. Arch. pag. 154. And Smith *ibid.* saith, These Bills to which the King thus answereth, are accounted utterly null and of none effect. But if Hollinshed may have credit, our Kings heretofore were not so complementall; when they told them in downe right termes, *It ne plaist, This does not please us.* Hollinsh. Vol. 1. fo. 180. Weigh and consider these things.

To conclude.

Thou seest, Reader, the unlawfulness of taking up Armes against thy Sovereigne proved, the Objections and Evasions answered, all Doubts resolved, and even the least scruples (which I could possibly imagine) removed. Oh I then return unto the Lord, obey his voyce, walk according to his rule. Thou art now called, and the Lord knows whether ever thou shalt have a second summons.

And let me seriously ask you, you I meane who are counted *Reforming Adinistrers*, whose lips should keep knowledge, Mal. 2. 7. How dare you in the dreadfull presence of the Almighty God, before the face of his Congregation, speak a vision of your owne heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord? *Ier. 23. 16.* How dare you by wrestling the Scriptures stir men up to rebellion? in stead of Faith, teaching Faction; in stead of Duty, Disobedience; then which there is nothing more odious in the sight of God, and yet by you nothing more frequently preached unto the people.

'Tis strange that Gods Church can be no way preserved, the Subjects Liberty no wayes maintained, but by sin. Who ever heard, unlesse from a Papist, that the way to Heaven was through Hell? *Shall we doe evil that good may come? Rom. 3. 8.*

You complaine (and perhaps justly) of Court-flatterers, for crying up *Monarchy* beyond all reason; but do you not in the meane while cry it down and vilify it without all conscience? For though God hath not in his word restrained all Nations unto one kinde of Government, and therefore any forme of Government is lawfull; yet without doubt *Monarchy* is to be preferred before all other. The best that can be said of other formes, is, that they are not repugnant to Gods word, not rejected by God: but *Monarchy* is agreeable to Gods word, and approved by God. God ordained Kings; but we never read, that he ordained *Hogen Hogens*, or an headlesse multitude to rule a State. Gods people were alwayes governed by a *Monarchy*: it is most honourable, most like unto the Divine Government, and therefore the best. *In this* (saith Cyprian,

an, de vanitat. Idol.) nature consenteth: the Bees have one King, the flock one Captaine, and the herd one leader. Monarchy (saith Polanus Syntag. Theol. lib. 7. c. 19.) is to be preferred before other rules or formes of Government, because it is most ancient, most common, the fittest to defend justice, most peaceable, in the manner of governing the best and safest, and the most lasting. It would be tedious to reckon up those Nations which have embraced it; or cite the words of those men of learning and wisdom who have approved it; As, Basil. Mag. in Psal. 44. Ambros. Hexam. l. 6. c. 21. August. l. 5. de Civit. Dei. c. 1. Hieron. l. 1. epist. 4. Homer. Iliad. l. 1. Herodot. l. 5. Plato in Politic. Aristot. l. ult. Metaphys. Xenoph. in Cyrop. Plutarch. l. de creat. Regis. Bartolus de tractat. de Regim. Civit. n. 10. Lucan. l. 1. & 2. Aquinas lib. de Princip. Erasmi. de institut. Princip. Eustach. in Ethic. quast. Proem. 3.

In your Writings, you often presse upon others (I would to God you your selves did put it in practice) that by our Saviours rule. Matth. 5. 39, 40, 41. We should remit of our right and submit to wrong, if it will tend to the promoting of a greater and more generall good; or the preventing of a greater and more generall evil. Now what is, or can be a greater good, then the gloryfying of God, & preservation of our Souls by the constant following of His word? What is a more generall good then the advancement of Christ his Church, by taking joyfully the spoiling of our goods, Heb. 16. 34. Cheerfully the losse of our Liberty, and patiently (if God so require) the laying down of our lives for the Truth, according to the sure examples of the Holy Prophets, the blessed Apostles, and most glorious Martyres in all ages?

And as it tends to a greater and more generall good, so it prevents, a greater and more generall evil. For besides the ruining of hundred thousands in their estates, your new Doctrine of Defensive Armes, hath caused the shedding of more true Christian blood in the space of one day, then Queen Maryes persecution did in all her reigne; Nay, more then many of the ten cruell persecutions in the Primitive Church. Wo, Wo, be unto you, ye Prophets, who daubed with untempered mortar, seeing vanity; and divining lies unto the people, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not spoken. Ezek. 22, 28.

If you are sent from God, why do you not turn the people from their evil way. Ier. 23. 21, 22. Why do you not condemne the reigning vices of these times? Pride, Ambition, Envy, Hatred, Vncharitableness, Discontent, Murmuring, Bloodshedding, Disloyalty, Perjury, The scandalizing of Gods Church, and ripping up her very bowels, Abominable lying,

Lying, Sacriledge, Blasphemy, Rayling, Cursings, Slandering, Revilings, forcing of mens Consciences, Contempt of Supiours, Dissembling, Treachery, Covenant-breaking, The prophonation of Gods Sacred Word in idle chattings and table-talke, The renewing of old Heresies, and the raising of all manner of Schysmes. Is this the way to have *Peace and Truth* together, by suffering such crying sins to be nourished, and go unreprieved? Is this the way to a *Therow-Reformation*?

Why do you flatter your Disciples with the titles of Saints, Children of God, Elect, Holy Brethren, and the like, when your Consciences (if they be not feared) must needs tell you they are not such, so long as they live in that horrid and execrable sinne of Rebellion.

A sinne doe I say? nay, Rebellion is the summe of all sins, for it is alwayes accompanied with Murder, Adultery, Fornication, Theft, Cursing, Swearing, Loosenesse of life, Drunkenesse, Cruelty, Vain-boasting, Idlenesse, and all manner of wickednesse whatsoever.

Why do you call that Gods cause, which Gods Word will not warrant? remember the *Woe* which the Prophet *Isaiah*, Chap. 5. 20. pronounceth unto them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darknesse for light, and light for darknesse, that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. And Solomon tells you, He that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him, Prov. 24. 24.

But unto thee, thou poor seduced soule, who hast been led away with the outside holinesse, of these false prophets, and art now pricked in thy Conscience, crying unto the Lord, *Oh that my wayes were directed to keep thy Statutes*, Psal. 119. 5. Let me give this exhortation of Solomon: *Fear thou the Lord and the King: and meddle not with them that are given to change. For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?* Prov. 24. 21, 22. *Against the King there is no rising up: If thou hast done foolishly in lifting up thy self: or if thou hast thought evil lay thy hand upon thy mouth*, Prov. 30. 31, 32. *Rent thy heart and turn to the Lord thy God, for he is gracious and mercifull, slow to anger, and of great kindnesse*, Joel 2. 13. and he hath promised that *when the wicked man turneth away from his wickednesse that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawfull and right, he shall save his soul alive*. Ezek. 18. 27.

Halelu-jah.